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LINCOLN UNIVERSITY
ETHNIC STUDIES CENTER

The Lincoln University Ethnic Studies Center was established in 1978 under a grant from the Advanced Institutional Development Program (AIDP). As a multi-cultural program the Center supports or sponsors a wide range of programs including but not limited to special lectures, occasional research reports, workshops and conferences, and special exhibits and collections. At its outset, the Center has focused its attention upon German-American and Afro-American ethnic heritage.

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INTRODUCTION

The Ethnic Studies Center of Lincoln University (MO) is proud to present herewith the first volume in a proposed series of occasional papers.

For almost a century Lincoln University had been in the vanguard of higher educational institutions devoted wholly to the preparation of Black youth. The landmark decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1954, however, enlarged the focus of Lincoln's educational thrust. By declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional, a new and wider educational challenge devolved upon Lincoln University. Instead of serving the needs of Black youth only, Lincoln for more than a quarter century has become an international human laboratory, where people of all races, nationalities and creeds come to prepare themselves for community, national and world service.

In face of the widened scope of the University's functions, it has become increasingly necessary to foster multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-racial experiences and understanding among the students, faculty and community. Lincoln University has made this idea paramount among its missions and goals.

The United States is a pluralistic society. Its strengths and/or weaknesses derive from the many different groups who have made our nation what it is today. For this reason, it is imperative that we know and appreciate the heritage and the contributions of the many groups who constitute our multi-ethnic society.

The papers included herein are the outcome of a Center-sponsored Seminar held at the University on April 20, 1982. They range in time from the colonial period to the present. Spatially, they cover two continents--Africa and America. Topicwise, the articles reflect the interdisciplinary character of the Center. They spread over a wide assortment of subjects from "The Role of Philosophy in African Politics" to "The Cultural Disassimilation of German Immigrants in Central Missouri, 1830-1866," to a slave seeking freedom on the basis of his white blood, 1702-3. Presenters included both Blacks and whites, men and women, and faculty and students.

Lorenzo J. Greene
Professor of History, Emeritus
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THE CULTURAL DISASSIMILATION OF GERMAN IMMIGRANTS IN CENTRAL MISSOURI, 1830-1866

By

SUSAN J. BOSCH

A popular belief in American thought is that ethnic groups freely interacted and mingled. In the case of the central Missouri Germans, the isolationism and struggle to resist Americanization was, in many instances, a two-way street. The Germans either wanted to remain clannish or they were forced to do so, as a result of contempt shown by their Anglo-American neighbors. Not only the forces of assimilation, but also the reasons for emigration, the choice of Missouri as a settlement site, the degree to which they were welcome, and the contributions that the central Missouri Germans made will be examined in this paper.

The implications of leaving one's native land forever must have been staggering to the nineteenth-century German immigrant. The love of the Fatherland, the familiarity of surroundings and customs, the family ties, and other factors had to be taken into consideration before the breach was made. The German had a variety of motives for emigrating. Friedrich Münch, an 1830 immigrant, divided the German emigration into three periods and labeled their members accordingly.[1] Before 1848, the "Grays" consisted of a discontented mixture representing all walks of life. During the period 1849-1866, the "Greens", or *Einwanderung No. 2*, preferred city life to rural occupation. The "Very Green", or *Allergrünsten* who came to America after 1866, were not exiles, but emigrated usually for economic improvement.[2]

An example of a "Gray" immigrant to central Missouri was Gerhard Anton Kramer, a thirty-three-year-old master carpenter from Achendorf, the Kingdom of Hanover. He came to settle in Jefferson City in 1838 and brought his wife, Thecla Schmitz Kramer (age thirty-six) and his two daughters, Anna (age seven) and Catherina (age three).[3] Kramer was representative of a lower-middle-class, independent German village artisan

who owned property in Germany, who turned that property into cash for travel expenses, who relied on his own skills, and who came to America to escape from economic want, political oppression, heavy taxation.[4]

The Kramers severed many close family and friendship ties upon coming to America. The following is an excerpt of an emotional letter to Kramer's wife from a close friend in Germany:

> 29 April 1838
> Farewell, Dear Thecla, the voice of fate separates us. Be happy there, wherever you are, and in your happiness think of me. Dear Thecla, think often of your loving friend, Margaretha, and the happy hours of the past in Achendorf. In friendly remembrance, from your loving friend, Margaretha Kampschmidt.[5]

Gerhard Kramer went to work on the construction of the old Capitol building after arriving in Jefferson City, August 13, 1838. In a letter to a friend in Germany, he said,

> We found living quarters in the city where a new capitol is being built. It is not so beautiful, but it is a large building. I work at it, together with my brother-in-law, Hermann. He earns daily one and one-half dollars. I get two dollars. That takes care of us well. As long as this work will last, I will probably not start to work for myself, even though there is no good furniture maker around here. . . .[6]

Aside from the hope of higher income and cheaper land, the German immigrant of 1848, or the "Green," came to America as a refugee of revolution and political unrest.[7] The Revolution of 1848, with an attempt to gain liberties from a despotic government, was suppressed, and many reputable men and women, from all parts of Germany, were thrown into prison and driven from their native land.[8] In a letter dated December 1848, Gerhard Kramer's sister, Anna Kramer, who lived in Achendorf, wrote:

> . . . The political and religious situation here in Germany is still the same. It is bad as you probably well know. Dear brother, all over, like out of one mouth, they talk about freedom, unity, and equality. There are meetings all the time and nothing comes of them. What God decides for us is known only to Him. . . I have now decided to come to you next fall. But my mother, brother, and sister don't want to allow it. . . It will be difficult to tear myself away against the will of my loved ones to make the journey without company. . . If I could find good company, I could come in the fall.[9]

An excerpt from a letter dated February 23, 1852, to Carl Güenther (immigrant from Dresden, Germany, to Jefferson City) from his Uncle Carl Güenther in Dresden reads: ". . . the government had become military and supressed everybody. So it goes in the old ways and no one trusts anyone else. They stay to themselves."[10]

As previously noted, Gerhard Kramer made reference to a brother-in-law living in Jefferson City upon his arrival, and Anna Kramer made plans to come to Missouri to be with her brother; but what other forces combined to bring German immigrants to Missouri? Gottfried Duden was instrumental in influencing scores of German citizens, as were the Philadelphia Giessener Settlement Society and Paul Follen's and Friedrich Münch's settlement in Warren County.

Gottfried Duden of Remscheid, Duchy of Berg, wrote letters, books, articles, and pamphlets praising the wonders and beauties of Missouri.[11] Coming from a wealthy background, Duden received a classical education and a law degree in 1810 from the University of Göttingen.[12] He was employed as a civil servant in various German communities, and there came into close contact with the disillusioned and discontented mass of the early nineteenth century.[13] Duden believed that the root of economic, social and political problems lay with overcrowded conditions in Germany.[14]

From 1816 to 1822, Duden studied the relationship between the individual and the German state. He concluded that ineffectual government forced people to respond in one of three ways: "blind obedience, or clear opposition to the laws, or emigration."[15] Duden clearly favored emigration to America, on the grounds that democracy and available land would invigorate the spirit and precipitate personal improvement.[16]

In 1823, Duden resigned from civil service and traveled to America with a friend, Ludwig Eversmann.[17] Their destination, Missouri, became the subject of promotional literature that lured thousands of Germans to the state.[18] Franz von Löher, an emigration historian, commented that ". . . between 1841 and 1846, an average of 19,000 Germans had left Bremen, just Bremen, for the United States. . . . Most of them were drawn to Missouri by Duden."[19] In 1860, the estimated population of Missouri was 1,182,012; the foreign-born German population totaled 88,487 of this number.[20]

Duden clearly painted a glorious and exaggerated picture of Missouri. His Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America and a Stay of Several Years Along the Missouri (During the Years 1824, '25, '26 and 1827) was published in 1829. The thirteenth letter included in this book was written while Duden was in Montgomery County, Missouri, in February 1825. He described the region in the following excerpts:

> I must emphasize strongly that the meaning of the words "fertile soil" in these regions is very different from that in Germany. Good soil, or first-rate soil, does not require fertilization during the first century, and

> during the first decades it is too rich even for wheat. This is true of river valleys, especially those of the Missouri. . . . One sees stones nowhere except in the beds of the streams and along individual knolls . . . . They are all highland prairies.[21]

> I cannot describe the impression that the days of wandering in this river valley have made upon me. One can travel hundreds of miles between gigantic tree trunks without a single ray of sunlight falling upon one's head. The soil is so black here from the plant mold that has been accumulating since primeval days that one seems to be walking on a coal bed.[22]

Duden's Report received its share of criticism as many immigrants were misled by its unrealistic views. The Philadelphia Giessener Society, which purchased between eleven and twelve thousand acres of land in Gasconade County in 1837, complained that Duden had failed to mention that Missouri was a slave state, that no good, public, river bottom land was still available, and that there was little opportunity for professional people.[23] One member of the Society, Gustav Koerner, blamed Duden for all the misfortunes that the German immigrants, who were illadapted for pioneer life, encountered.[24]

Two Giessener Society leaders, Paul Follen and Friedrich Münch, settled in Warren County close to Duden's farm. They, too, had accepted Duden's Report as gospel and found themselves ignorant of the true conditions in Missouri.[25] The majority of these settlers were gentlemen (scholars, officers, and professional men), also called "Latin Farmers," because they possessed no real knowledge of farming. The failure of this society was inevitable, and could be compared to that of the Jamestown Settlement.[26]

Many German immigrants, then, were disillusioned with the "Promised Land" and saw it as an unfriendly environment to which they were not properly suited. Was the land the only thing that was hostile, or did the Germans find themselves amid unfriendly Anglo-American neighbors as well?

The attitudes toward the Germans ranged from acceptance to nonchalance to hatred, and everything in between. A questionnaire was sent to the governors of states by the Immigration Restriction League in the late nineteenth century. The results were: "Fourteen states expressed a desire for Germans; twelve, Scandinavians; seven, English or Scotch; six, Irish or other English-speaking peoples; three, French; two, Swiss; one, Hollander and Belgiam.[27] The appreciation for German immigrants was summed-up by this statement: "Their sturdy character, law-abiding instincts, habits of industry, painstaking zeal, honesty, and intelligence

made them desirable additions to any agricultural and industrial community."[28]

On the other hand, many showed contempt and hatred of the Germans. John N. Edwards, newspaper editor and Lafayette County resident, stated in his book, Shelby and His Men, published in 1867, that the "Dutchman was lying, nefarious, bragging, and rather simple-minded."[29] The German, particularly the German-Catholic, was persecuted by the "Know-Nothing " Party, which organized on the national level in 1854.[30] This party advocated "America for Americans" and displayed a fear and hatred for Catholics and the foreign born.[31] Missouri Governor Claiborne Fox Jackson displayed his dislike for the Germans in an 1857 speech in which he reportedly said "that men from Northern states and Germans seeking homes in Missouri should be met at the threshold, knocked on the head, and driven back."[32]

Upon the outbreak of the Civil War, the extreme hatred of those toward the German turned into outright violence. William Henry Schrader, a son of German immigrants to central Missouri, was seventeen years old when the Civil War broke out. In his memoirs, he recalled:

> Foreigners in Missouri at that time meant mostly Germans and were invariably referred to as the 'God-damned Dutch' and although many voted the Democratic ticket were suspected of being 'Black Republicans' at heart . . . .[33]

Schrader related an incident in which he was sent to the store to purchase supplies and encountered on Judge Flood, "a loud-mouthed secessionist," who said, "Well, here is our little Dutchman, and for what side are you?" "I said, with as much courage as I could put in my voice, I am for the Union." "He [Judge Flood] was so enraged at my answer that he raised his cane and said, 'You damned Dutch puppy. I have a mind to strike you down.'"[34]

Friedrich Müench of Warren County, an outspoken antislavery man, said,

> I myself was the most hated man in our region. In a meeting held not far from my home, it was decided to kill me, to burn down my home, and to expel my family by force. Some of my nearby and more distant friends offered me protection, but I had no desire to either flee from my threatened farm nor to become a burden to others, and thus I remained in my home.[35]

Müench survived; he was far more fortunate than the approximately forty-five German men from the Cook's Store community of Lafayette-Saline Counties who died as a result of repeated bushwacker raids.[36] They, too, had opposed slavery and its extension.

The Cook's Store Settlement, today known as Concordia, Missouri,

was a prime example of isolationism due to its tragic Civil War experiences The Germans had engaged in commercial dealings with their Anglo-American neighbors in the 1850's.[37] However, after the war, the community turned more inward than ever before. The German language was maintained well into the twentieth century and the "walls of isolation" were erected.[38]

In contrast to the disassimilation of the Cook's Store Settlement by means of external force, many German communities voluntarily chose to remain clannish. Three efforts, in Missouri, Wisconsin, and Texas, were unsuccessfully made to establish German states within the United States.[39] The purpose of these efforts was to permit perpetuation of German institutions and customs.[40] The plan in Missouri, proposed in 1834 by the Giessener Society, outlined the desire of German immigrants to found a New Germany: "The foundation of a German state, which would naturally become a member of the American Union, but which would maintain a form of government that would guarantee the permanence of German civilization and the German language and provide for a free and democratic existence. . . ."[41]

Gottfried Duden also had hopes for a "transplanted Germania, a second Vaterland, for all emigrated Germans."[42] In the postscript of his Report, Duden said,

> If a small city were founded with the intention of serving the American Germans as a center of culture, one would see a rejuvenated Germania arise and the European German would then have a second country here, such as the British have. If only a live interest for such a project would develop in German! . . . Such wishes have frequently been expressed in recent times, particularly to the effect that it would be desirable that Germans emigrating to North America would not lose themselves in the mass of Anglo-Americans, but might form a new German people.[43]

Specifically in central Missouri, the Germans resisted assimilation by "buying out" their Anglo-American neighbors through large purchases of adjoining lands and the perpetuation of the German language in homes, schools, churches, and the press. Jefferson City had four German newspapers in the nineteenth century: the *Demokrat*, the *Fortschritt*, the *Missouri Staats Zeitung*, and the *Missouri Volksfreund*. California, Missouri, in Moniteau County had its *Die Deutsche Zeitung* as did Westphalia in Osage County its *Volksblatt*. Also, intermarriage among mid-Western Germans, residing in rural settlements, was very rare in the 1850's-1860's.[44]

Hermann, Missouri, located in Gasconade County, came closer to the mark of achieving a new Germany in Missouri.[45] In 1855, Franz Löher said of Hermann: "Their Anglo-American neighbors are being bought out, thanks to the Germans, who give them dollars for their improved land, and they

then proceed deeper into the backwoods to clear new ground."[46] Hermann was able to remain somewhat isolated because a bridge across the Missouri River was not built there until ninety years after it was founded.[47] Hermann had its newspaper, the *Licht freunde*, as well as the provision that its school should remain German, in all branches of education and science, forever. This stipulation was approved by the Missouri legislature in 1849, and the provision lasted seventy-five years.[48]

St. Thomas in Cole County was another example of voluntary disassimilation. Founded in 1832 by Anglo-Americans from Tennessee (by name: Fowler, Bolten, Clendennen, Barton, and Barnes),[49] by the 1850's and 1860's, the land was being bought-up in quantity by German immigrants (a few by name: Fluettemeyer, Heisler, Hoecker, Kroll, Kuilbaumer, Loethen, Libbert, Scheuler, and Schwich).[50] By 1858, the ratio was about three-fifths English or Yankee origin and approximately two-fifths German origin. In 1974, the community was roughly ninety-five percent German origin.[51] The parish school in St. Thomas was built in 1874, and although supported by public school money, the German language was used until 1917.[52] In fact, a child was subject to punishment for not speaking German. A former resident of St. Thomas, Dorothy (Shell) Perrey, was spanked by the nuns for speaking English in her second grade class.

The German immigrant who lived in an urban area found it harder to keep the old way of life; however, he was still determined to try. Thecla Schmitz Kremer, living in Jefferson City, wrote to her family in Germany on June 4, 1839: "Now this summer they will build a [German] school and a Catholic Church.... We live just as though we were in Germany."[53] Carl Güenther, German immigrant to Jefferson City, paid $1.25 a month for tuition to the German and English Independent School and was, himself, a stockholder in the Turn-Verein (Turner Society) of Jefferson City.[54] (The Turner Society was a gymnast club, organized in 1811 in Germany, to physically prepare young men to fight in battle if necessary. Such clubs were reorganized in America.)[55]

Although numerous examples of disassimilation could be cited, there were those Germans, such as Georg Engelmann and Gustav Koerner, who disapproved of isolation and advocated Americanization.[56] In 1834, both men set examples for the rapid assimilation process and warned fellow settlers that they must use the English language to go forward in life.[57]

Even though the majority of German immigrants did endeavor to remain unassimilated, they were eventually changed by their new environment, just as the native Americans were affected by their presence. Volumes

have been written elaborating upon the contributions made by Germans. The immigrants to central Missouri in the 1830's to 1860's were not superhuman, and many led quiet, uneventful, insignificant lives. Others made names for themselves in the Circuit Court records. One Jacob Niedever of rural Cole County was convicted of horse stealing.[58] Another German immigrant, Sebastion Strumph, was convicted of third degree murder and fined $150.[59] A few of the virtuous contributions worth mentioning were the founding of singing societies and promoting music appreciation, the building of a wine producing industry, and the supporting of the Union upon the outbreak of Civil War.

The foundation of singing societies has been referred to as the German's main cultural contribution to the United States.[60] To many small mid-Missouri communities, little or no music was heard and life was very unromantic. The Germans had a word that described their philosophy of life, *Gemütlichkeit*, a good-natured, easy-going disposition that desired maximum pleasure from life with moderation.[61] Their pleasure of music was shared with mid-America, which had little music tradition, no trained choruses, no operas, and few musical instruments.[62] In a letter dated August 1, 1845, to Anna Kramer from a friend, Laura Mitchell, the following reference was made to music: "Dear Anna, them songs you wished me to send you I have not as yet had the time to copy them . . . . I wish you would be so kind as to copy them three favorite songs of mine."[63] Frederick Muench, with reference to a central Missouri German village, said, "The Germans do not allow themselves to be deprived of their amusements. Singing and dancing and target shooting and such forms of recreation flourish here more than in the German villages. . . ."[64] Hermann, Missouri, had its Harmonic Singing Society, organized in 1875, and its twelve member Apostle Band and the Menitz Apostle Orchestra, both organized in 1882.[65]

Another pleasure from life was the development of a prosperous fruit-growing and wine-producing industry in Hermann, Missouri. The Stone Hill Wine Company, established in 1861, received numerous medals from national and international expositions as well as diplomas from wine manufacturers' associations.[66] By 1907, beer and spirits were also being produced.[67] Hermann's isolated location prevented the growth of manufacturing activities.[68]

As previously stated, the nineteenth-century German immigrant opposed slavery. Many an idealistic Forty-eighter, who had been denied personal liberties in the Fatherland, hoped to find a Utopia in America, free of servitude. It was debatable whether the average German fought with

enthusiasm and zeal, or simply followed the path of least resistance with the crowd. German William Henry Schrader stated, ". . . A suspicion [that all Germans were "Black Republicans at heart], which I am proud to say, was gloriously verified in the almost unanimous rally of the Germans in defense of the Union the moment Fort Sumpter was fired on."[69] Dr. William Keil, founder of a German communistic community in Bethel, Missouri, in 1844, was not as eager. On August 24, 1861, he wrote:

> To be sure we are Union men, and by our oath bound to preserve the Constitution, but the present conflict between the Americans concerns us only if we are asked by the government to fulfill our duty.[70]

The fact remained that a large percentage actively participated in the Civil War in Missouri. In 1869, a statistical work was published for the United States Sanitary Commission by B.A. Gould.[71] Dr. Gould determined that 30,899 Missouri Germans volunteered for service, while the number of native Americans in Missouri was 46,676. The English-born Missouri volunteers totaled 761, and the Irish Missourians contributed 4,362 men.[72]

In conclusion, the average German immigrant to central Missouri, 1830-1866, did not freely interact and mingle. He struggled to remain unassimilated and to preserve his old way of life for future generations. The German language was used in all areas of life, and intermarriage with native Americans was rare. The rural immigrant and fellow Germans bought-up land to assure strength and solidarity in numbers. German scholars had held that their superior *Kultur* was the only humanism, philosophy, and theology. As a newspaper of the time put it, "They came to Germanize America rather than to be Americanized."[73]

FOOTNOTES

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[12] James W. Goodrich, "Gottfried Duden: A Nineteenth-Century Missouri Promoter," Missouri Historical Review, LXXV (Jan., 1981), p. 133.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid., p. 134.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid., p. 135.

[18] Ibid., p. 132.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid., p. 131.

[21] Gottfried Duden, Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America and a Stay of Several Years Along the Missouri (During the Years 1824, '25,'26, and 1827), an English Translation, with a Foreword by James W. Goodrich (Columbia & London: The State Historical Society of Mo. & the University of Mo. Press, 1980), p. 55.

[22] Duden, p. 56.

[23] Hawgood, op. cit., p. 110.

[24] Hawgood, op. cit., p. 24.

[25] Hawgood, op. cit., p. 111.

[26] Davis-DuBois and Schweppe, op. cit., p. 55.

[27] George M. Stephenson, A History of Immigration 1820-1924 (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1926), p. 51.

[28] Davis-DuBois and Schweppe, op. cit., p. 57.

[29] Robert W. Frizzell, "Killed by Rebels: A Civil War Massacre and Its Aftermath", Missouri Historical Review, LXXI (July, 1977), p. 394.

[30] Frizzell, op. cit., p. 375.

[31] Davis-DuBois and Schweppe, op. cit., p. 60.

[32] Frizzell, op. cit., p. 373.

[33] William Henry Schrader Reminiscences, 1844-1926, Western Manuscripts Center, University of Mo., Columbia, Mo.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Adolph E. Zucker, ed., The Forty Eighters (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), p. 66.

[36] Frizzell, op. cit., p. 393.

[37] Frizzell, op. cit., p. 375.

[38] Frizzell, op. cit., p. 394.

[39] Davis-DuBois and Schweppe, op. cit., p. 55.

[40] Davis-DuBois and Schweppe, op. cit., p. 56.

[41] Hawgood, op. cit., p. 109.

[42] Duden, op. cit., preface.

[43] Duden, op. cit., p. 264.

[44] Hawgood, op. cit., p. 38.

[45] Hawgood, op. cit., p. 115.

[46] Hawgood, op. cit., p. 122.

[47] Hawgood, op. cit., p. 120.

[48] Hawgood, op. cit., p. 121.

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[50] Ibid., p. 9.

[51] Ibid., p. 10.

[52] Ibid., p. 148.

[53] Kramer, Thecla Schmitz Kramer to Father, Mother, Sister, Brother, June 4, 1839.

[54] Güenther, op. cit.

[55] Davis-DuBois and Schweppe, op. cit., p. 60.

[56] Hawgood, op. cit., p. 126.

[57] Hawgood, op. cit., p. 127.

[58] Schmidt, op. cit., p. 12.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Fermi, op. cit., p. 4.

[61] Davis-DuBois and Schweppe, op. cit., p. 63.

[62] Davis-DuBois and Schweppe, op. cit., p. 157.

[63] Kramer, Laura Mitchell to Anna Kramer, August 1, 1845.

[64] William G. Bek, "The Followers of Duden," Missouri Historical Review. XIX (Jan., 1925), p. 346.

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[66] Goodspeed, op. cit., p. 673.

[67] Hawgood, op. cit., p. 123.

[68] Hawgood, op. cit., p. 120.

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INFORMATION REPORTING AT TRADITIONALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES: A CALL TO ARMS

By

JEANNE E. BUDIG

INTRODUCTION

With renewed vigor, the continued need for the more than one hundred and seven traditionally Black colleges and universities of the United States has been called into question. A recent Chronicle article (4)* compiled the major issues being advanced. The most recurrent argument is that the very success of the civil rights movement challenges the relevance of the historical mission of the Black colleges. Now that white colleges have opened their doors to Blacks, what is the purpose of the Black colleges? Now that prestigious universities actively recruit Black students, often offering superior financial aid, why should a Black consider attending a less wealthy and less prestigious Black institution? Indeed, it is a unique burden on the president of a Black college or university frequently to defend the continued existence of his institution.

The purpose of this study is to review the public information so "HEGIS" (Higher Education General Information Survey) file for thirty-six traditionally Black public four year colleges and universities, to determine the quality of the data submitted by seven of these institutions, and to suggest actions for improving the quality of the HEGIS information so that it will be more supportive of the historically Black institutions.

The HEGIS Data File. Through the Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS) system, the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) annually (since 1966) collects data from all of the colleges and universities in the United States. There are five major surveys collected annually and three minor surveys collected periodically. The major surveys

* See Bibliography, Number Indicated.

are Institutional Characteristics, Financial Statistics, Opening Fall Enrollment, Earned Degrees, and Employees. The periodic surveys are Facilities, Residency and Migration, and Libraries. Collectively, the HEGIS information file is the primary source of comprehensive information about higher education today. It has become the major source of archival data on higher education and is widely used in doctoral dissertations on higher education administration and in major funded research studies of regional or national scope. Because of the diversity of the higher education enterprise in the United States, comparative analysis is often difficult.

THE QUALITY OF HEGIS DATA: SEARCH OF THE LITERATURE

Quality issues may be examined in terms of limitations inherent in the data themselves, or in terms of limitations imposed upon these data by users. Qualitative assessments of the data themselves deal with the issues of "validity" and "accuracy"; qualitative assessments of the utility of these data deal with the issues of "comparability" and "policy relevance." The literature is replete with studies varifying the quality of HEGIS data, or exposing limitations in the data file as it presently exists.

Validity. As used herein, validity refers to the institution's provision of data requested by NCES. It reflects the institution's willingness or ability to follow classification schemes, to adhere to HEGIS definitions, and to follow HEGIS instructions carefully. Researchers began to question data validity in 1977 (1) and a major study to determine validity was commissioned shortly thereafter. the WESTAT Study (5) found validity problems is 24.9% of the sample institutions. Most common validity errors were in confusion regarding the definition of "full-time equivalent students" or in overstatement of revenues due to confusion over which student aid revenues to include and which to exclude.

Accuracy. A second problem related to the quality of the data itself is accuracy. As used in this paper, accuracy refers to the institution's provision of correct data. Possible threats to data accuracy are duplications, omissions, estimates, misclassifications, and multiple counts.

Some of these problems are prevalent, especially in HEGIS fall enrollment reports. The WESTAT study reported that 13.1% of all the sample institutions did not follow NCES definitions for student level. Thirteen percent reported a need to estimate enrollments, and 38% omitted students who enrolled late. Sixty-eight percent of the institutions attributed their difficulties to insufficient information about their students. The WESTAT study concludes the HEGIS enrollment figures are "highly accurate within the time frame that the survey form was completed." (5)

The accuracy of financial data was explored at length by Collier and Patrick (2) and Conger (3,9), who cited many data discrepancies. Their conclusion was that "the analysis of financial condition of the higher education industry as well as of individual institutions requires a higher degree of accuracy at the institutional level than can now be assured by the HEGIS financial data reports." (8)

The importance of these studies was to bring to the attention of the higher education community the need to improve the quality of the data. It is gratifying to note that the university administrative professional associations such as NACUBO (National Association for College and University Business Officers) have taken the initiative to improve data collection within their own technical areas. (9) In a similar vein, the National Center for Higher Education Management Systems (NCHEMS) now publishes major definitive guidebooks to assist the institutions in improving the quality of data submitted in their HEGIS reports. (6,7)

Comparability. Comparability refers to the degree of similarity which exists among institutions, states, and the annual HEGIS survey themselves. In terms of assessing state funding patterns, comparability is threatened by different organizational patterns within the states. In terms of the surveys themselves, comparability is threatened by changes in the institutional composition of the HEGIS universe. Major problems were variation in state practices regarding debt expenditures and debt service (11), different ways to allocate central system office expenditures to individual campuses (3) different ways of treating full time and part time students (5,12) and different manners of state treatment of general revenue, staff benefits, and flow-through funds from the federal government. (8)

Policy Relevance. Policy relevance is a perceived fact, not one that can be measured in a quantifiable way. A major component of policy relevance is timeliness. Timeliness must be considered in tandem with statistical integrity. If an information system is designed to have the greatest total integrity, the system will lack the necessary flexibility to serve effectively the information needs of the policymakers. On the other hand, if the system is to be totally and instantly responsive to policy needs and pressures, the proper professional and institutional protection of statistical integrity cannot be maintained. The fact is that HEGIS data, in order to preserve the required level of statistical integrity, is always at least 24 months out of date by the time it is published. Timeliness and utility are both issues cited in the HEGIS

data quality surveys. (2,9,3,10,12)

RESEARCH DESIGN

From January to June, 1981, the author was employed by the National Center for Higher Education Management Systems (NCHEMS) for the Information Services Project. The purpose of this project was to design and field-test "data shells" utilizing the most currently available HEGIS file, in order to make this major data resource available to university administrators and researchers. The unique feature of the system is the ability for the requestor to request the data on self-identified peer institutions; all data are indexed against the norm of that peer group.

A cohort population of all thirty-six historically Black public four-year institutions was identified and ten "data shells" prepared from HEGIS files for this population. Seven institutions from this population - Lincoln University, Grambling, University of Arkansas-Pine Bluff, Southern University in New Orleans, Kentucky State University, Central State (Ohio) and North Carolina Central University - were visited, with the following purposes:

(1) to determine the validity and accuracy of the HEGIS data on that institution,

(2) to assess the utility of the proposed Information Services as an NCHEMS "customer services" activity to assist University administrators and researchers in their work; and

(3) to determine if there are other data formats that would be equally (or more) useful to those requiring data.

Because of her association with the institutional research and planning community in the traditionally Black institutions through several years' participation with the Southern Association for Institutional Research, the author took the initiative to expand the assignment to additionally review the data with the presidents of four more of the institutions, with senior institutional researchers at twelve of the institutions, and with the three major institutional research centers for data on the Black institutions: The Howard University Institute for Educational Policy (Dr. Kenneth Tollett); the 1890 Land-Grant section of the National Association for Land Grant Colleges and Universities (NASULGC; Dr. Leonard Haynes III); and the National Association for Equal Opportunity (NAFEO) Data Exchange Center (Dr. Carol Smith). The information was also presented to the Council of Presidents at the 1981 NAFEO Conference last March.

FINDINGS

Data Quality. Assessment of data accuracy and validity were in total agreement with the literature. There was widespread misunderstanding of reporting conventions for financial and student data in particular. The major comparability question was that land-grant and non-land grant institutions were intermingled, leading to a distorted revenues/ expenditures index. Regarding policy relevance, most institutions felt that the time lag precluded usefulness in planning: what good is two year old data?

Other Findings. A more important finding, in the opinion of the author, was the "informal" conclusion that the institutions knew very little about what has happened to the data after it left the institution. Because there has been absolutely no feedback to the institutions (including spot-checking of data, penalty for not providing it--unless imposed by State coordinating agencies), there has been no incentive to improve the quality of the data. Most of the senior administrators contacted, however, did NOT like the way their institution LOOKED ON PAPER, based on the information about them (and FROM them) in the HEGIS file.

DISCUSSION: USE BEING MADE OF THE HEGIS DATA FILE

Despite all of the severe limitations in the data, *it is the most comprehensive data file on higher education in the world today, and is being WIDELY used despite its well-documented limitations (usually with a disclaimer in the introduction)* by researchers, state coordinating boards, accrediting agencies, private research studies, regional and/or special interest groups . . . and federal agencies such as the Department of Justice, Department of Education, and the Government Accounting Office (GAO) in their studies and reports. Consider the following recent events:*

1. The 1976 higher education desegregation plans for the "border states" (Kentucky, Oklahoma, Arkansas) contained major provisions for funding and programmatic upgrading at the traditionally Black institutions. Missouri did not, because Lincoln University had, according to (HEGIS)

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* For example, a watershed study by McCoy and Halstead, Financing Higher Education in the Fifty States: Interstate Comparisons. FY76. FY1978. "Data Cautions" from the 1978 study. 1) the use of "campus" vs. "system" as a reporting unit; 2) the inclusion of vocational technical institutions; 3) the treatment of central administration costs; 4) varying organizational arrangements; 5) chargebacks; 6) counts of FTE students; 7) finances for hospitals, auxiliary enterprises and independent operations; 8) employee benefits; 9) debt service; 10) tuition remissions; 11) variance in public service; and 12) student aid. Each of these problems belongs in one of the four major categories of classification problems, omissions, comparability problems, or definitional problems.

enrollment data, achieved the 'desired effect of integration'.

2. Lincoln University received a MISIP grant for research in 1976. In 1978 and again, in 1981 we were denied eligibility because our enrollment, according to HEGIS data, was no longer predominantly Black.

3. In September, 1981, Lincoln University was denied membership in the White House Initiative on Historically Black Colleges and Universities. We appealed that decision, citing that the full time population was still predominantly Black and that we were being unduly penalized because of the large part-time commuter population.

4. On March 11, 1982, seventeen traditionally Black colleges and universities were denied eligibility for Part B of the Developing Institutions Title III grant, where some $27 million had been set aside for the traditionally Black colleges*. At this time our appeal is pending.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is recommended that the person responsible for coordinating the reports on each campus, particularly the HEGIS reports, take the immediate initiative to advise the president and other senior administrative officials of the uses to which HEGIS data is being put. It is further recommended that that person assume responsibility for thorough knowledge of HEGIS reporting definitions, particularly those identified 'difficult' or potentially troublesome areas. Through reading professional literature such as Association for Institutional Research (AIR) publications, Journal of Higher Education, and the University Business Officer, one comes to know changes in HEGIS reporting requirements, refinements of definitions, and resources available to assist the campuses in preparing better data. The reports coordinator should assume the responsibility for carefully reviewing HEGIS reports prepared by the technical area against the latest guidelines and definitions manuals, and conferring with the technical areas before the reports leave campus to detect and correct possible problems.

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* From a letter to the University Presidents from Dr. Sam Myers, Executive Director, National Association for Equal Opportunity, March 10, 1982.

Part B, Eligibility Requirements, Special Needs Program, Title III. Federal Register Vol. 47, No. 2. Tuesday, January 5, 1982. P. 549, Section 626.2.

"Percent of FTE undergraduate enrollment receiving need-bases assistance; Average Amount of need-based assistance per recipient (in dollars) and average education and general expenditure per FTE undergraduate student (in dollars) as reported in 1978-79 HEGIS."

One important mechanism is by trend analysis--comparing this year's reports data with those of previous years and noting data discrepancies. (It is important to note that these discrepancies are probably not errors, but probably differences of opinion in reporting definitions.)

It is equally important that university presidents, perhaps working through their respective associations, continually challenge the validity of decisions and recommendations made concerning their institutions on the basis of HEGIS file data. It is only by being aware of the vulnerability of the data that the institutions know where to direct their responses. This is particularly true of the leaders of the Traditionally and Historically Black Institutions as they continue to face the many challenges of the coming decades.

APPENDIX

INSTITUTIONS IN THIS STUDY

Alabama A & M University	Alabama State University
University of Arkansas Pine Bluff	Delaware State College
Florida A & M University	Albany State College
Fort Valley State College	Savannah State College
Kentucky State University	Grambling State College
Southern University New Orleans	Bowie State College
Coppin State College	Morgan State University
University of Maryland Eastern Shore	Alcorn State University
Jackson State University	Mississippi Valley State University
Lincoln University (Missouri)	North Carolina A & T State University
Winston-Salem State University	Langston University
Lincoln University Pennsylvania	Cheyney State College
South Carolina State College	Tennessee State University
Prairie View A & M University	Texas Southern University
Virginia State College	Norfolk State College
Bluefield State College	West Virginia State College
Southern University A & M Main Campus	North Carolina Central University

N = 36

COMPARABLE DATA STUDY FOR TRADITIONALLY BLACK PUBLIC FOUR YEAR COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

N = 36

1978-79 HEGIS

I. **REVENUE**

Category	Mean Value per FTE	Lincoln University value per FTE
State & Local Appropriations	$ 2,445	$ 3,190
Tuition & Fees	654	570
Endowment Income	9.97	-0-
Government Grants & Contracts	999	1,432
Private Gifts, Grants and Contracts	81.71	-0-
Other E & G Revenues	214	578
Total E & G Revenues	4,369	5,771

II. **EXPENDITURES**

Instruction	$ 1,716	$ 1,347
Research	291	1,373
Public Service	186	.85
Academic Support	436	325
Student Support	326	212
Institutional Support	582	794
Plant Maintenance & Operation	577	745
Scholarships & Fellowships	236	469
E & G Mandatory Transfers	51	19
Total E & G Expenditures	4,399	5,363

III. ENROLLMENT PARAMETERS	Mean Value of 37 Institutions	Lincoln University
Total Headcount		2,110
Total FTE Students	3,103	1,759
Percent Full Time Enrollment	76.8%	60.6%
Percent Part Time Enrollment	23.2%	39.4%
Percent Undergraduate	94.5%	94.6%
Percent Graduate	5.5%	5.4%
Percent Lower Division	57.0%	65.9%
Percent Upper Division	33.5%	28.7%
Percent Full Time Men	56.0%	46.7%
Percent Full Time Women	44.0%	53.3%

IV. FACULTY PARAMETERS (9-10 month faculty only)		
Percent Tenured	38.6%	36.4%
Percent Senior Faculty (Full and Associate Professors)	55.4%	43.1%
Average (10 month) salary: (1978-79)		
Full Professor	$ 22,912	$ 18,514
Associate Professor	19,034	16,731
Assistant Professor	15,889	13,982
Instructor	13,019	11,444
Total Average Faculty Salary	17,079	13,493

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THE PORTRAYAL OF BLACK AMERICANS IN PICTURES AND CONTENT IN THE CALDECOTT AWARD BOOKS AND HONOR BOOKS FROM 1938 - 1978

By

ZELMA L. FRANK

INTRODUCTION

> Every child has the right to see himself and life as he knows it reflected in a book. Only in this way can he feel that his culture and people have worth and a place in the eyes of others. Similarly, every child has the right to venture, through books, out of his own sphere into a wider world where he can encounter people different from himself. The wider the variety of children a young reader can meet in books, the more exciting the world can become for him.
>
> -- Jean Karl

Origin of the Problem. A complete education is the birthright of every child. A significant portion of this education is amassed through the literature used in the education process. Children cannot get a complete education and learn what America truly is, when the literature used does not reflect the pluralistic society that is truly America. Every since the introduction of Black people to America, the educational, political, social, and economic integration of Black Americans in America has been a dreadfully slow process. "Contrary to popular belief, that the first Negroes were shipped to America--to Jamestown--in 1619, the year before the Mayflower arrived, Free Africans, as well as slaves, were in the Americas before 1619. They accompanied Spanish, Portuguese and other explorers, serving in a variety of roles. A slave rebellion is recorded in 1526 in what is now South Carolina." [1] Nevertheless, American Blacks have been largely excluded from the mainstream of dominant culture in the United States. Evidence of this exclusion can be seen in children's literature. One must ponder why it has taken so terribly long for non-stereotypical images of Black Americans to emerge in children's books.

The reasons for the exclusion of Black characters in children's books are numerous. In addition to the educational, political, economic, and social discrimination which is ingrained in American society, the composition of authors and the publishing world has also been a contributing factor. White authors were doing the writing, white publishers were doing the publishing, and the white masses for the most part, were doing the purchasing. Therefore, it was not only easy but convenient for them to pretend that Afro-Americans did not exist. The prevalent form of racism found in children's books during that time was that of omission. "Perhaps the most serious offense committed by the literary world has been the virtual exclusion of Black people from children's books. On the one hand, the omission itself strengthens the omnipotence of white supremacy. On the other, it is part of the myth complex appropriate to the racism of American culture--it is a way of acting out that Black people do not exist or count."[2] Gradually, commission was used as a new form of racism in Black characterizations in children's literature.

When children's books no longer excluded Blacks, their inclusion was always in stereotypic patterns both in illustrations and content. Most authors and publishers during the early 1900's had very limited knowledge of Blacks, so their publications reflected their own stereotypical images of how Blacks looked, lived, and felt. In the majority of cases these interpretations were erroneous and negative. As Millender[3] has stated, most authors during that period had no authentic way of knowing the Black American about whom they were writing, but they wrote anyway and people believed the false presentations that were being widely distributed in children's books. It was commonly accepted in those days that the Black American "wanted nothing, had nothing, and looked like nothing that resembled other human beings of the day."[4] The Black author who could have portrayed Negro life honestly and accurately was rebuffed by white publishers.[5]

From the early 1900's to the 1940's, all that was written about Black American life was how Blacks had lived on the plantation fifty years earlier. Stories of plantation life, Civil War days, Southern ghettos and generally poor living conditions were the subjects of available books. That was an unfortunate occurrence since books were the only way most white children could learn about Black children. "One of the greatest values of all good literature is a monentary glimpse of the glow of humanity when one experiences the problems and purposes, the hates and hurts, and the values, dignities, and human worth of another human being

who is both similar and different from oneself."[6] According to Carlson,[7] stereotyping of Blacks through illustrations and content is evident in most of the literature prior to 1930. Black characters are presented as caricatures or jokes, as persons being superstitious, afraid, lazy, unambitious, and docile. "A plantation novel designed for young children by Ellis Credle entitled Across the Cotton Patch depicted some Black twins, Atlantic and Pacific, who were not even real human beings, which was evident by their names."[8] Other authors contributed to these negative portrayals of the Afro-American. Two such authors were Swearington and Hogan:

> In 1917, Estelle Swearington copyrighted the novel Pickaninny, another example of the stereotyped type of novel which was written by many authors during that period in American history.[9]
>
> Other stereotypes of the bandana-covered, fat mammy and the kinky haired, thick-lipped "funny" boy appeared in the Nicodemus series written by Hogan in the late 1930's with such titles as Nicodemus and The Gang (1939).[10]

Still another type of sterotype was found in the language the authors chose to use.

The language the authors used was often a language that only the authors themselves could decipher. Frequently the language was far from authentic. An example of such language can be found in Frawg published by Annie Vaugh Weaver in 1930:

> "Who plugged dat melon?" Mammy cried,
> As through the door she came;
> "I'd spank de chile dat done dat trick,
> Ef I could learn his name."[11]

This type of dialect was just another method used to cast Negroes into inferior roles and make them appear ignorant and uneducated.

The news media of the day also contributed to perpetuating the false image of Black Americans. The New York Times review of Nicodemus, the stereotypic book mentioned above, concluded that "there is humor in the presentation of both pigs and pickaninnies."[12] In a 1930 review of the book Frawg, noted above, the writer stated that "characteristic illustrations enhanced its charm."[13] Scribner's Magazine and Harper's Weekly printed articles in the 1900's that were derogatory in their descriptions of Afro-Americans.[14] One such article referred to Blacks as contented, docile, and lacking ambition. Another writing referred to the Black male as a "boy".

When Black Americans became frustrated and complained about their image in children's literature, some white authors started writing about the Black experience. Attempts were made by these authors to eradicate

negative images of Black Americans in their writings, and a few Black authors chose to tell their own stories.

In the 1930's Black authors such as Fauset, Woodson, Dawson, and Cuthbert wrote books about Afro-American life and history.[15] These publications grew out of a need on the part of Black people to find books about themselves that were realistic and honest in pictures and content. "Friendship Press, which today publishes material on the Negro, began as early as 1936 accepting material on the Negro. . . ."[16] Several years later, a few publishers opened their doors, if only halfway, to accept manuscripts by Black authors.

> As publishers began to accept some of the many manuscripts presented them, Negro authors and others kept trying, and with the 1940's more books for children on Negro life succeeded in reaching the public. A few were fictional, but most were nonfiction biographies, probably published in an attempt to show in true lives what had been achieved despite tremendous odds. Or perhaps the publishers were playing it safe in printing mainly true stories. But whatever the reason, the publication of many Negro biographies began to dispel many of the myths and stereotypes that had branded the Negro as an inferior non-achiever with few capabilities similar to others, and generally wanting nothing.[17]

Sadker's[18] conclusions concerning some of the Caldecott Award books are also appropriate in summarizing the sequence of developments in the portrayal of Black Americans in children's books: "Note the development from noninclusion, to stereotypic inclusion, to white authors of the Black experience, and finally to Black authors of the Black experience."

If the story ended here and no more dialogue were necessary, it would epitomize the fairy tale's classic "happy ending" episode. But unfortunately this is not at all the case, for even today Black characters are still largely excluded from children's tradebooks and textbooks and in far too many instances when they are included, the stereotypic portrayal in pictures and content continues. Intentionally or unintentionally, through omission and commission racism still runs rampant in children's books. White authors and white publishers still dominate the field of children's literature and this is evident in the types of books currently being published, most of which contain all white characters. In her study, Nancy Larrick[19] refers to this situation as "The All White of Children's Books." In replicating Larrick's study, Jean Chall[20] concluded in 1978 that eighty-six percent of children's tradebooks portray an "all white world." Even the most casual perusal of children's books will show that "white children spend most of their reading time in a mirror reflec-

tion of themselves, while Black children spend their time looking into that mirror."[21]

Literary images in children's books tend to reflect the prevailing values and the most acceptable ideas within the society. In this respect, books serve as a form of cultural transmission conveying concepts about self and others and intergroup relations. Millender's[22] assessment is that literature serves as an invaluable aid in portraying the lives of people to each other. Through text and illustrations, books describe and explain physical appearance of other people, customs, ways of living, their hopes, and aspirations.

Before children learn to read words, they read pictures and in the process begin to formulate and develop many basic concepts about the world in which they live. Because picture books are written for the young, impressionable audience of children, the illustrations and text are of utmost importance in the education and socialization process. For this reason the Caldecott Award and Honor books were chosen for the present study.

The Caldecott Award is one of the most prestigious in the field of children's literature and because of this, these award books are widely advertised and distributed through teachers, librarians, publishers, and numerous publications. The runners-up for each year are called Honor books. The Caldecott Award[23] is named in honor of the English illustrator Randolph Caldecott (1846-1886) and has been awarded annually by an awards committee of the American Library Association's Children's Services Division to the illustrator of the most distinguished picture book for children published in the United States during the preceding year. The award is given only to residents or citizens of the United States. Throughout their school careers, children are repeatedly exposed to the Caldecott Award and Honor books.

This writer feels that because these books are given a top award and are so popular, they should through content and illustrations be forerunners in the quest for equality through literature. One reason for the false images and misunderstanding of Black Americans has been the treatment given them in books for children. The hope for the future rests with our children. Through literature they can gain knowledge, ideas, and develop concepts which will help them build a better world.

Writers, illustrators, and publishers of children's books have a tremendous responsibility. Those who work with young children must ask critical questions about the literature they use in teaching: Are Black

Americans portrayed accurately in content and illustrations? Does the book contribute to a better understanding of the democratic way of life and promote greater understanding among people? Does the book portray America's pluralistic society?

Summary. The portrayal of Black Americans in children's books has followed an historical pattern of racism. Perhaps the greatest form of racism has been the omission of Black characters. Also Black writers have been largely ignored by the book publishing world. During the fifties a few changes were noted in the depiction of Blacks in books for children. In the sixties, books written about Black Americans or including them began to appear. The seventies have marked a period of even more progress.

However, research has shown that much remains to be done in both the frequency and quality of Black representation in books for children. One way this can be accomplished is through the inclusion of more Black Americans in the publishing and communications industries which have historically been owned and controlled by white Americans. This control has resulted in a mostly white depiction of America's multi-racial society. A dire need exists for greater frequency, more honest, realistic, and relevant portrayal of Afro-Americans in books for children.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY, SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Purpose. This study was designed to make a comprehensive assessment of the qualitative and quantitative portrayal of Black Americans in illustrations and content in the 177 Caldecott Award Books and Honor Books from the inception of the award in 1938 to the most recent awards in 1978. Answers were sought for the following questions: (1) What are the quality and quantity of Black representation in illustrations and content in the Caldecott Award Books and Honor Books from 1938 to 1978? (2) Do comparisons by decades show a significant difference in treatment of Black characters in the areas of analysis during the four historical periods outlined in the study? Content analysis was used and the changes were assessed in terms of specific criteria designed for the study. The two main objectives were to describe how Blacks appear in these books with respect to the criteria used in the study, and to assess the changes with respect to them.

Design of the Study. The population for the study was defined as all of the Caldecott Award Books and Honor Books from 1938 to 1978. A total of forty-two Award Books and 135 Honor Books were included in the study. The total population of 177 books was analyzed.

To assess the qualitative and quantitative portrayal of Black Americans in the Caldecott Award Books and Honor Books, the investigator devised an analytic instrument based on the criteria listed in "10 Quick Ways to Analyze Children's Books for Racism and Sexism"[24] and a "Values Checklist."[25] This instrument was applied to the literature to analyze content and illustrations in the books that were studied.

Standards were applied to analyze the illustrations for stereotypes, tokenism, and lifestyles. The story lines was analyzed in terms of relationships, standard for success, viewpoint, and racial bias. The language factor was analyzed for derogatory names and dialect. The effects of the book on the child's self-concept were also studied. The number of Black characters in art and text was tabulated.

The analytic instrument contained eight thoroughly defined categories of evaluative criteria which were utilized to aid in the identification and analysis of the treatment of Afro-Americans in pictures and content in the books. Using these criteria, each book was rated on the Book Evaluation Form in a table indicating whether the book's content and illustrations were anti-racist, non-racist, racist by ommission and/or commission or not applicable in the following categories: (1) Pictures and Illustrations, (2) Story Line, (3) Loaded Words, (4) Characterization (5) Setting, and (6) Overall Contribution. The findings within each of the categories were assessed for each book awarded during the periods studied: 1938-1947, 1948-1957, 1958-1967, and 1968-1978. Comparisons between the periods were also made.

First, the combined total of the Caldecott Award Books and Honor Books were assessed as a group. Second, the Caldecott Honor Books were examined as a separate group. Third, the Award Books were evaluated as a group.

The investigator's evaluations were supplemented by the evaluations of two trained coders who also read the 177 books. The training sessions consisted of three two-hour sessions and one three-hour session.

Content Analysis was used to assess the books under study. The treatment of the data was based upon a longitudinal consideration of the obtained data, indicating the status of Black portrayal and the changes which occurred from 1938 to 1978. On the basis of these data, certain conclusions were drawn by utilizing the combined methods of historical and descriptive analysis and interpretation. The findings were expressed in terms of frequencies and percentages.

Summary of Significant Findings. The analysis of the data revealed the following findings:

1. From 1938 to 1947 only seven (3%) of the Caldecott Award Books and Honor Books contained Black characters in the illustrations. Black slaves were mentioned in the text in two of the books. In every instance except one, Blacks were pictured as slaves or in some other demeaning or negative role, or pictured grotesquely. In one exception, Sing In Praise, 1947, while the picture of one little boy was not demeaning, the boy's identity was not decidedly Black. It can only be stated that his coloring was darker than that of the other children. None of the books during this period were judged anti-racist. Twelve (5%) were non-racist, fourteen (6%) were racist by either omission or commission, and seventeen (7%) were not applicable.
2. From 1948 to 1957, two (1%) of the total books had Black characters. In one of these books, Dick Whittington and His Cat, no reference was made to Blacks in the text, but two Black servants were pictured. In the other book, America's Ethan Allen, Blacks were pictured as freed slaves and referred to as "Negro Helpers." Again, during this period also, Black Americans were portrayed in negative roles. None of the books were judged anti-racist. Twenty-four (13%) were non-racist, seventeen (9%) were racist by omission or commission, and thirteen (7%) were not applicable.
3. Two books, less than one percent, had Blacks in illustrations during 1958 to 1967. No mention was made of Black Americans in the text in any of the books. The two Black characters pictured in one book, Fly High Fly Low, 1958, were members of a demolition team. The Snowy Day, 1963, was a Caldecott Award Book and had a total of three characters, all of whom were Black. This is a story about a Black boy and marked the first time that a book with a Black as main character was awarded. Only one Award Book (The Snowy Day) and one Honor Book (Goggles) had a Black as main character and both of these books had all Black characters. This would tend to imply that Blacks can be heroes and heroines and take leading roles only among people of their own race. It should also be noted that The Snowy Day contains one stereotypical picture. It is a picture of the little Black boy's mother who is very fat and dressed in a loud

yellow and white dress. This is reminiscent of the old Aunt Jemima stereotype. Two books, less than one percent, were anti-racist, thirteen (4%) were non-racist, eight (3%) were racist by omission, and ten (3%) were not applicable.

4. Only one book out of the forty-five (less than one percent) Award and Honor Books from 1968 to 1978 had Black characters. Goggles (1970) had six characters, all of whom were Black. This book depicted the all too familiar scene of Blacks living in the ghetto. In that sense, the portrayal was stereotypical and an up-dated version of the stereotypical portrayal of Black Americans in books for children. Less than one percent of the books during this period were judged anti-racist. Fifteen (8%) were non-racist, one was racist by omission, and twenty-seven (12%) were not applicable.
5. From 1938 to 1978, out of a total of 177 books, three (5%) were evaluated as anti-racist, and sixty-four (113%) were not applicable. Black Americans were represented in twelve (21%) of the total books. The world of children's literature as depicted in the Caldecott Award and Honor Books is seventy-nine percent white. Forty-one (73%) were racist by omission, commission, or both.
6. Black Americans were either omitted or shown in stereotypic fashion in the Caldecott Award and Honor Books from 1938 to 1978.
7. The only reference made to Black Americans, in the content of the books studied, were as Slaves, Freed Negroes, Negro Helpers, and Minstrel. Sometimes there were pictures of Black Americans but no mention of race in the text and vice versa.
8. Six of the total books examined had racially potent or loaded words. The books were: Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, 1939; Abraham Lincoln, 1940; April's Kittens, 1941; They Were Strong and Good, 1941; Henry Fisherman, 1950; and America's Ethan Allen. 1950. It can be stated that eleven percent of the books studied had racially potent or loaded words.
9. The overall contribution of the Caldecott Honor Books when considered alone as a group revealed that only two (3%) were anti-racist, one awarded in the third period and one in the fourth period. Fifty-three (72%) were non-racist. Twenty-nine (39%) were racist by either omission, commission, or both. Ten books (14%) had Black characters. Fifty (68%) were rated

not applicable.

10. The assessment of the Caldecott Award Books alone as a group showed that only one was anti-racist, eleven (5%) were non-racist, fourteen (6%) were racist by omission, commission, or both, and four (2%) of the books had Black characters. In two of the books which contained Black characters (1940 and 1942), the Blacks were shown as slaves and in one book (1944) the one Black character was pictured as a minstrel. In the 1963 Award Book, a Black was portrayed as the main character in an all-Black cast which totaled three in number.
11. The data revealed that the period from 1938 to 1978 showed no improvement in the Caldecott Award Books with reference to the quality and quantity of Black representation. Blacks were either omitted or portrayed in stereotypical roles. In addition, a general decline occurred in the number of Black inclusive books awarded. However, a change can be noted in the movement from commission to omission and back to commission in the books studied.
12. The Caldecott Award Books and Honor Books, through omission and commission, primarily reflect the attitudes, values, standards, concerns, and lifestyles of the white, middle-class majority. Thus, they can be seen as contributing to the perpetuation of racism in children's books.

Conclusions. The findings of this study led to the following conclusions:

1. Racism in the Caldecott Award Books and Honor Books from 1938 to 1978 is evident in the fact that Black Americans were either omitted in illustrations and text or shown in stereotypic or demeaning roles.
2. Whenever reference was made to Blacks in the text, they were mentioned as slaves with the exception of two books. In one book a Black minstrel was mentioned. In another book, Blacks were called Freed Negroes and Negro Helpers. This may tend to imply that (1) the only worthy mention of Black Americans in children's books is as slaves or similar demeaning characterizations, and (2) Blacks are not present in America in any role models.
3. Racially potent or loaded words were found in six (11%) of the books indicating that the use of loaded words, while present, was not a prevalent practice. This in no way implies that

since it was not a prevalent practice, it can be overlooked. On the contrary, if racially potent or loaded words appear in even one book, the appearance is of concern.

4. Only one Caldecott Award Book and two Honor Books were judged anti-racist. The rest of the books fell within the other three categories: non-racist, racist, or not applicable. From these data the conclusion is that the Caldecott Award Committee has not made a significant contribution in awarding anti-racist books.
5. The Caldecott Award Books and Honor Books from 1938-1978 have shown no improvement in the qualitative and quantitative depiction of Black Americans and the number of books depicting Black characters has declined from six in the 1938-1947 period to one in the period from 1968-1978. The Award Books and Honor Books when considered alone as individual groups also show a general decline in Black inclusive books. In addition, a change can be noted in the movement from commission to omission and back to commission in the books which were evaluated.
6. Research has shown that after the political, social, economic, and racial upheavals of the 60's, children's books began to depict more Black characters. This did not happen with the Caldecott books. In the last decade, more integrated or Black inclusive books have been written; however, this has not been the case with the Caldecott books. The Caldecott books have not kept pace with the times.
7. All of the Caldecott Award Books and Honor Books which were applicable were racist in some way. Because of the racism the books may tend to reinforce the white superiority-Black inferiority syndrome in children's books. This situation could likely be changed if the guidelines for the Caldecott Awards Committee were amended to include a criterion that the books considered, whenever applicable, show a realistic and honest depiction of America's multi-racial society. No such provision is presently in the award terms.
8. Specific criteria should be utilized by those in the field of children's literature to aid in the elimination of racism in books for children.
9. Authors, illustrators, and publishers have an obligation to reflect the pluralistic society which is America.

10. The portrayal of Blacks as main characters in only two books, both of which have all Black characters, is indicative of a cultural insensitivity and tends to suggest approval of a subservient role for Black Americans. Such books also imply that Black Americans can only be heroes, heroines, or leaders among their own race.
11. Books reflect society's mores and values and as such, books reinforce and mold certain concepts and beliefs held in high priority by that society. Racism in America tends to be reflected in the Caldecott books.
12. The Caldecott Award and Honor Books tend to encourage and perpetuate racism and acceptance of the status quo among writers and publishers.
13. The omission of Black Americans and the depiction of them in negative roles in the Caldecott books may possibly lead to poor self-concept development in the Black child and erroneous feelings of superiority in the white child.
14. The Caldecott books which were applicable to the present study may not assist children in a better understanding of themselves and others because the books were racist through commission and/or omission. Research has shown that racial attitudes are formed by contact with prevailing attitudes rather than actual contact with people of other races.
15. The Caldecott books which were applicable contained overt and/or covert racism; therefore, these books are not likely to promote a healthy self-concept in young children. The Caldecott books may be considered as a part of the problem which fosters racism in children's books, rather than a part of the solution.
16. Research has shown that a positive correlation exists between self-concept and reading achievement. The Caldecott books which were applicable were racist in some way and therefore are not likely to contribute to positive self-concept development and in that sense will make no contribution toward achievement in reading.
17. Racism in any form in children's books, whether it is overt and intentional or subtle and unintentional, may have negative or detrimental effects on the self-image of those children who read the books or have the books read to them.
18. One form of racism in children's books can be found in the language used, such as the many negative connotations assigned

to the word "Black." This form of racism is frequently overlooked. It was present in two of the Honor Books - Snow White (1939), and April's Kittens (1941).

19. Most of the Caldecott books are presently found in the schools, in public libraries, and in many homes. The majority of young children in the United States have either been encouraged to read these books or have had the books read to them. In addition, these books have received one of the most prestigious awards a child's picture book can win. Therefore these books should represent the epitome of excellence in their realistic, authentic, and honest portrayal of America's pluralistic society. These books should be forerunners in the effort to eliminate racism in books for children.

20. A review of the literature reveals that the need exists for more books written by Black authors so that they can reflect the Black experience from their own perspectives. In order to aid in the fulfillment of this need, it would appear that the Caldecott Award Committee could give consideration to the race of the authors and illustrators. Only two Caldecott Honor Books were written and illustrated by Black Americans--Moja Means One (1972) and Jambo Means Jello (1975). Both books were written and illustrated by Tom and Muriel Feelings.

21. Teachers and educators should be cognizant of the significance of the role of pictures and text in books for children and be aware of the numerous shortcomings inherent in the Caldecott Award and Honor Books.

22. The fact that Black Americans have been largely omitted from the Caldecott books leaves that population of children's books nearly all white. Omission in children's books has been one of the most prevalent forms of racism. It is still the most prevalent form of racism in the books evaluated for the present study.

23. The Caldecott Award and Honor Books primarily reflect the attitudes, values, standards, concerns, and lifestyles of the white, middle-class majority and, therefore, can be seen as contributing to the perpetuation of racism in children's books.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The Council on Interracial Books for Children Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators, Stereotypes, Distortions and Omissions in U.S. History Textbooks (New York, New York: Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators, A division of the Council on Interracial Books for Children Inc., 1977), p. 18.

[2]Betty I. Lattimer (ed.), Starting Out Right Choosing Books About Black People for Young Children (Madison, Wisconsin: Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, Bulletin No. 2314, 1972), p. 24.

[3]Donnarae MacCann and Gloria Woodard, The Black American in Books for Children: Readings in Racism, "Through a Glass, Darkly," by Dharathula H. Millender, Reprinted from School Library Journal, December, 1967 (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1972), p. 143.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ruth Carlson, Emerging Humanity (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Co., 1972), p. 3.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Charlotte Huck, and Doris Kuhn, Children's Literature in the Elementary School (New York, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 8.

[11]Myra Pollack Sadker, and David M. Sadker, Now Upon A Time (New York, New York: Harper and Row, 1977), p. 132.

[12]New York Times, July 29, 1934, p. 9.

[13]Sadker and Sadker, op. cit., p. 131.

[14]MacCann and Woodard, op. cit., pp. 144-145.

[15]Ibid., p. 150.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid., p. 151.

[18]Sadker and Sadker, op. cit., p. 141.

[19]Nancy Larrick, "The All-White World of Children's Books," The Saturday Review, Vol. 48, September 11, 1965, p. 63.

[20]Jean Chall, "Blacks in the World of Children's Books," (Boston, Massachusetts: Harvard University Graduate School of Education, April, 1978), p. 13.

[21]Betty I. Lattimer, op. cit., p. 24.

[22] MacCann and Woodard, op. cit., p. 143.

[23] Zena Sutherland and May Hill Arbuthnot, Children and Books (Dallas, Texas: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1977), p. 654.

[24] Council on Interracial Books for Children. "10 Quick Ways to Analyze Children's Books for Racism and Sexism," (New York: Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1974).

[25] Council on Interracial Books for Children, Human and Anti-Human Values in Children's Books (New York: Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators, 1976).

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B. PUBLICATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT, LEARNED SOCIETIES AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

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C. PERIODICAL

Larrick, Nancy. "The All-White World of Children's Books," The Saturday Review, 48:63, September 11, 1965.

D. UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

Chall, Jean. "Blacks in the World of Children's Books." Boston, Massachusetts: Harvard University Graduate School of Education, April, 1978. Submitted to be published in The Reading Teacher, February, 1979.

E. NEWSPAPER

New York Times, July 29, 1934, p. 22.

THE CASE OF ABDA VS. RICHARDS, 1702-3

By

LORENZO J. GREENE

"Abda is a Bastard, begotten & born out of Marriage"*

--Gurdon Saltonstall before the
Governor and Assemble of
Connecticut, October, 1704

Thus, Gurdon Saltonstall, prominent Puritan minister and one of Connecticut's brightest legal minds, stigmatized a runaway slave suing for his freedom. The latter's flight was not unique. New England slaves, like bondmen everywhere, often sought to win their freedom by running away. Slaves fleeing their masters, was a common occurence.[1] Thousands ran away. Some made good their escape; others were apprehended and returned to their masters. Still others appealed to the Courts for their freedom, claiming they had been unjustly enslaved. Abda belonged to this latter group. His case merits attention, because 1) it shows that slaves and free Negroes had access to the colony's courts, 2) it shows that their legal rights were legally safeguarded as those of free white persons, and 3) it depicts "slave" and master appearing alternately as plaintiff and defendant.[2] But most important, it might have set a precedent for freeing all the mulatto slaves of Connecticut and of New England as well.

The purpose of this paper is to show how a slave, aided by white sympathizers, carried on a two year fight for freedom from the lowest to the highest court in the colony. Abda was a mulatto slave who belonged to Captain Thomas Richards of Hartford, Connecticut. One cold, blustery day, about the beginning of February, 1702/3, Abda, claiming that he was a free man, quit his master's service and went to work for Captain Wadsworth of the same town. Richards appealed to the authorities for the recovery of his property, and on February 12 of the same year, the sheriff of Hartford County arrested Abda and returned him to his master. The writ

* Connecticut Archives: Miscellaneous, 1662-1789. First Series, I, Vol. 2, Document 21c.

issued by an Assistant, Nathaniel Stanly. "On the same Day," according to Richards, Abda "being instigated thereonto and openly Abbetted by certain persons," again left his master. The aggrieved owner, then obtained a warrant, from Eleazar Kimberly, Secretary of the Court, ordering the Sheriff of Hartford County "in her Majestie's name to "make diligent search, wheresoever you shall suppose or be informed, that the said Abda shall be, or be hid, protected or Concealed."[3]

The sheriff was strictly enjoined that if Abda were found in his precinct to arrest him and remand the slave to his master. The influence of the slaveholder is reflected by the fact that any and all citizens, if called upon, were to aid the sheriff in apprehending the fugitive. Any person or persons, refusing to obey, or who opposed the sheriff in the execution of his office, would be arrested and brought before the nearest assistant or judge for the trial. Further, the sheriff was adminished to "fail not," or to do so at his own peril. The warrant, bearing date of February 26, 1702/3, was issued at Saybrook, Connecticut.[4]

Turning the tables on his master, however, Abda, six days later, secured a warrant from the same Eleazar Kimberly, Justice of the Peace, and William Pitkin, as Assistant. This time the Sheriff of Hartford County was ordered to have Captain Thomas Richards appear before the County Court to answer charges preferred against him by Abda. The slave claimed that he was a free man and asked damages of twenty pounds "current [sic]" money and cost from Richards for having unjustly detained him in bondage "for the space of one year last past." Abda, or probably Captain Wadsworth, with whom he took refuge, had posted sufficient bond to insure the prosecution of the case. Richards was advised to appear and answer Abda's charges or stand in contempt of Court.[5]

Stung by Abda's suit against him, Richards, on May 13, 1703, appealed to Governor John Winthrop and the General Assembly of Connecticut, sitting at Hartford, for the return of his slave. In an humble petition, he set forth the basis of his claim to Abda's services. According to his plea, Richards' father for "many years" had been possessed of a Negro slave women, named Hannah, who gave birth to an illegitimate son, called Abda. Upon his father's death both slaves came into the petitioner's possession. Abda, he told the Court, has remained in his ownership until, being "instigated by Evil Councill [sic], he ran away at the beginning of February last."[6]

Richards obtained a "hue and cry" from Nathanial Stanly for the return of his slave. But Abda's well-wishers and abettors (antislavery-

ites?), many of whom had gathered before Richards house, openly shouted that Abda was a free man and should not remain with him. (Although the Governor and Assembly, representing the highest court in the colony, had returned Abda to his master, the slave again deserted Richards on the following day.) Richards now feared the total loss of his property for as he told the Court, the "Common Opinion . . . of the people was to Send Abda out of the Country."[7]

The petitioner also claimed that both his person and property were in jeopardy. More than "One hundred" persons, he estimated, had beseiged his home, demanding Abda, (who had been again returned) and "threatening your petitioner." They even threatened to break down the doors and take Abda by force. Some called out to the slave only to cry out "mother" and they would smash the doors and spirit him away. For three days and nights, Richards added, he could not "obtain so much as wood & water," except what he received through "a window." During all that time, the petitioner stated, he was forced to stand on guard against violence to himself and property. Soon afterwards, he was served a Writ to appear at a County Court at Hartford, on the first "tuesday of September" to answer Abda's charges. He earnestly prayed that the Court would settle the vexatious question whether Abda was "a slave or Servant for life." He asked no special favor, for slavery was a common practice in all her Majesty's American Colonies. Nor could any Court "in this Colony . . . take cognizance . . . of the plea of Liberty pretended," because there was no "Express Law impowering [sic]" the Court to do so. Richards concluded by asking the Court to punish the "Riotory Persons" so that neither he nor other citizens would have to endure such violence in the future.[8]

Meanwhile, information came to the authorities that Richards, infuriated that Abda had begun a freedom suit against him, intended to send Abda out of the country. To offset such an occurrence, on March 9, William Pitkin, as Assistant, ordered the Sheriff of Hartford to take Abda into custody and bring him before Pitkin. The purpose was to guarantee the "slave" his right to "tryall [sic] for his freedom, a fundamentall priviledge of the English nation." Richards was also to be notified to appear in court to "defend his Rights to Said Abda." This writ, bearing date of March 9, 1702/3 was signed by William Pitkin, Assistant, with Thomas Hooper and Will Whiting as witnesses.[9]

Three days earlier, Richards had secured valuable depositions in his favor regarding his claim to Abda. Two women, present at Hannah's delivery, testified under oath that Abda was her child. Sarah Howard,

about eighty years old, asserted that she was at Hannah's labor. When asked whose child it was, Hannah replied it was Jennings' who lodged at her house. Questioned whether "any other had to do with her," Hannah named William Hadwell, but insisted it was "Genings [sic] child." She added that the child then born was "Abda, the reputed servant of Captain Richards," Lydia Smith "of Lawful [sic] age" gave similar testimony. Present at Hannah's "Labour," she asked the mother whose child it was? Hannah, she said under oath, answered "John Ginings." Hannah admitted that William Hadwell also had been intimate with her, but "the child then born of her was this Abda," Captain Richards' reputed "Servant." [10]

To bolster his case, Richards submitted an inventory of the "goods and Chattle of his father, James Richards an Assistant of Hartford, who died June 11, 1680." The inventory included two "Negroes and Mallatoes [sic]," [11] presumably Hannah and Abda. [12]

On May 11, 1704, Richards implored the Governor, Council and Representatives, in General Court assembled, to restore Abda to him. The petitioner promised to submit all relevant facts to prove his case, should the Court take his plea under consideration. The Court agreed to deliberate on the issue. The Upper House voted "to hear and Consider" Richards' petition; the Lower House declined to do so. [13]

Undaunted, Richards later obtained an order, dated May 27, 1703, from the Governor and Council to hear his case at the next meeting of the General Court in New Haven the following October. In preparation for this hearing, Richards again sought to secure Abda. Accordingly, the Sheriff of Hartford County, or his deputy, was ordered to seize Abda and deliver him, "forthwith unto . . . Richards." Any other person or persons, however, might give sufficient bond to insure Abda's appearance at the Court. [14]

Meanwhile, at the Inferior Court of Pleas, held at Hartford, on June 2, 1704, Abda appeared and presented his suit for freedom against Richards. Here, for the first time, he is identified as "Abda Duce, alias Gennings," plaintiff. The Court found for Abda. He was declared free, and the Jury also awarded him twelve pounds in "Currant [sic]" money and costs of Court. Richards acknowledged himself bound to pay to the County Treasury "thirty pounds in Currant pay [money]". He appealed the judgement and was ordered to appear before the Court of Assistants to be held at New Haven on the first Thursday of October following. Richards was also answerable for all damages "in case he could not make good his plea." [15]

In preparation for his appeal before the General Court in New Haven in October, on September 11, 1704, Richards enlisted a formidable array of

attorneys to represent him. They were his "Good friends": Mr. Gurdon Saltonstall, scion of a famous family and later Governor of Connecticut; Jamor W[illiam] Whiting and Richard Lord of Hartford. These men, said Richards, represent me "for the procureing [sic] and Obtaining of my Servant man, Named Abda, a Malatto, who hath deserted me." Two days later, Richard personally appeared before Nathaniel Stanly, Assistant, and legally acknowledged the above.[16] Abda was accordingly notified to appear before the Court to answer Richards' appeal. He was notified on September 25, 1704 by John Chester, Assistant, in order that Abda might have time to prepare his reply to Richards. Chester, likewise, warned both the sheriff and/or constable not to fail in finding and informing Abda. Either one was also to notify the Assistant that he had carried out the order.[17]

On October 12, 1704, therefore, the fugitive slave and his master met in what was to be a legal showdown before the General Assembly in New Haven. The Court appointed a Mr. Edwards to represent Abda. Richards' formidable battery of legal talent, Gurdon Saltonstall, Jamor Whiting and Richard Lord, launched their legal assault on Edwards. Stating that Richards' efforts to retrieve his "Slave," had proved unavailing, his attorneys implored the Court to order Abda returned to Richards. They purported to show:

> That the sd [said] Abda was and ought Still to be held, in actual possession of the Complainant for life.

To validate their assertion they submitted the following reasons: First because Abda "was born of a Negro Woman, called Hannah, who was a Servant for life to the Complainant's Father, James Richards, Esq [uire]." To clinch this point they offered the testimony of two women (noted above) who were present and allegedly questioned Hannah at her "Travaile" [labour]. She had admitted that a white man, Jennings (Genings, Ginning) was the father of her child, Abda. Edwards, the attorney for Abda, apparently made no attempt to counter this point.[18]

Secondly, the defendant's counsel held that not only had Abda been held as a slave for life by Richards' father, but he had also been "Inventoried and Appraised" as a chattel, belonging to the latter's "Estate." Further, the inventory included other slaves, one of whom was bought by the same Captain Wadsworth of Hartford, to whom Abda fled after leaving his master. (Incidentally, the reader of the records of this case must question the position and motives of Wadsworth. Was he an opponent of slavery? It appears not, since he himself owned slaves. Did he nurse an animus against Richards, which impelled him to grant asylum to the former's runaway slave, Abda? Did he not forsee that his involvement in Abda's

escape might prompt his own slaves to run away? Lastly, was he implicated in the mob who threatened Richards' person and property? These and other questions are not alluded to in the records.)

Thirdly, the attorneys referred to several writs, dated March 2, 1703, March 9, 1702/3, and March 28, 1703, in which Abda claims that Richards had held him unjustly in bondage for the past year.[19] This the attorneys did not deny. They even agreed with Abda's Court-appointed lawyer that the Complainant "did hold" the said Abda "in cruell Servitude and was very Severe to him."[20]

Admitting the above, Richards' counsel, nevertheless, contended that Abda should be returned to his master in the same state as before he absconded, that is, as a slave for life.[21]

First, they (Saltonstall and Whiting) argued that not only "the laws," but the "Constant Practice of this Colony," and all the other English colonies in America held that such persons born of Negro slave women inherit the same status as the mother. In other words, if the mother is a slave, so are her offspring and vice versa.[22]

Richards' attorneys brushed aside any argument to the contrary. Abda's counsel probably countered that no law of Connecticut specifically stated that mulattoes born of a Negro woman shall be slaves. Richards' attorneys held that no law was necessary, since the "constant practice" or custom of doing so made such specific legislation superflous. Furthermore, they contended the law expressly stated that "no man shall put away, or make free his Negro or Malatto [sic] slave." The above law, in their opinion, declared not only the approval of "Such Servitude, but that Malattos may be held as slaves within this Government."[23]

The Lawyers placed their own construction upon this legislation. The Connecticut law of 1702, referred to, was intended to discourage masters from freeing their old or infirm slaves, thus preventing them from becoming public charges.[24]

Saltonstall and Whiting also rejected the allegation that since slavery for life was contrary to "the Word of God," Abda was a free man. Rather, they contended, slavery was established by the "Judiciall Law" that Jews "might hold as Servants for life the Children of . . . a strange Nation, although born among them." (Negroes and Indians belonged to this category and therefore were fit for slavery.) Counsel, however, declared that the bondmen, like other Jewish servants, must keep the Sabbath holy. Slavery, therefore, does not contravene the moral law. Were it so, slavery

could not be established by the Judicial law.[25]

Richards' lawyers, likewise, swept aside the assertion that Abda was a free man, as a result of his conversion to Christianity. Saltonstall and Whiting refuted this allegation. Christianity, they argued "made no change at all in the civil status" of a person "in relation to bondage or Liberty." In other words, if "the Person, so converted, was a bond Servant before . . . Conversion," he remained a bond servant or slave after conversion. The lawyers quoted Biblical authority to support their arguments for restoring Abda to perpetual slavery. They also reminded the Court that all the English and other European colonies in America adhered to this principle and practice.[26]

Having demolished the claim of Abda's lawyer that Christianization worked manumission, Richards' attorneys now struck at Abda's main contention: that he was free because of his English blood. The complainant's representatives contemptuously denied such an assertion. Abda, they claimed, was "a Bastard, begotten and born out of Marraige." Such had been admitted, and testified to, under oath. The blood of Jennings ("Gennings" or "Gining") that flowed from the white man in Abda's body was immaterial. Abda had no father. There had been no marriage "and, where there is no marriage," continued the defense, "there the Law saith there is no Father." Fatherhood is only gained through "a lawful coupling of two persons by Marriage."[27]

To the plea that Jennings, "an English Man," was Abda's "natural Father," Saltonstall declared that was a statement incapable of proof. He deliberately exaggerated the number of Hannah's sexual partners in order to drive home his point. By her own admission, he told the Assembly, Hannah had lain with others besides Jennings, including Indians. (Hannah had admitted relationships with one other white man, William Haddam). But Saltonstall virtually branded her as a common whore, incapable of saying whose blood flowed in Abda's veins. Abda, he went on, "cannot prove that his blood is more English than Indian."[28]

But the opposition was not finished. Edwards, speaking for Abda, declared that "Whomsoever the mother of a Bastard Child accuses of being the Father of it," that person by law is the reputed father. But, interposed Richards' counsel, the law supposes the mother to be a Christian, so that she might confirm her accusation in Court. Hannah is "an infidell," they added, therefore her "bare accusation" could not make Jennings "the reputed Father."[29]

Saltonstall and his partner then made short shrift of Edwards'

other objections. To the latter's statement that the jury had declared Abda a free man (See Doc. 18), Richards' attorneys held that proof of such verdict had been offered in Court. Further, if the Jury handed down such a verdict, freeing Abda, they hoped this Court would decide, upon the basis of the evidence offered, that there could have been "no just Ground for such Judgment." To the objection that Abda should be free, because he was a Christian, Richards' counsel held that Christianity, as already noted, "does not desolve the bonds of Servitude."

Lastly, Saltonstall and Whiting summarized their case by concluding that, if Abda holds that he should be a free man, either through his Christianization or for any other reason, then he should file a freedom suit. (It appears that he had done so in Hartford.) Otherwise, he should be taken up and returned to his master. In conclusion, then, Abda must at least remain Richards' reputed "Servant, til he sues for and is accorded his liberty."[30]

Here the case abruptly ends. Richards' attorneys overbore with their specious and relentless logic the futile efforts of Abda's court-appointed lawyer. Morality, as we know it today, had no place in their reasoning. The final records in the case are probably lost. But Bernard C. Steiner, quoting George H. Moore (Notes on Slavery in Massachusetts, p. 112) and the Connecticut Courant (Nov. 9, 1950) states that Abda lost the case and was returned to his master. Nonetheless, he had carried his fight for freedom from the lowest to the highest judicial tribunal in the colony. His counsel had little chance of winning since his client was a poor slave opposed to a man of property and prestige, Captain Thomas Richards. The latter's counsel, Gurdon Saltonstall, was not only a man of high secular and religious authority in Connecticut; he was also the brother-in-law of his client, Abda's master. His interest in the case, therefore, was more than legal.

By returning Abda to slavery, Connecticut lost a magnificient opportunity to establish a path-breaking precedent. A favorable decision, declaring Abda a free man because of his part-white descent, would have opened the way for all the mulattoes of Connecticut and the other New England colonies to sue for their freedom for a similar reason. As such, the case of Abda vs. Richards must be regarded as potentially one of the most important pieces of slave litigation in eighteenth century Connecticut. On the contrary, it may have established a legal precedent for holding mulattoes in bondage.[31]

For us today, however, the case of Abda vs. Richards, must be seen as but one episode in the long struggle for Blacks to attain their freedom and equality in America. Unsuccessful before and after boarding the slave-ships on the Middle Passage, the slaves transferred their struggle to the New World. Although freedom from slavery was won with the Civil War, the struggle for equality still goes on. Until Black Americans, aided by all men and women of goodwill, win their fight for equal status in the American system, the struggle must go on.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See Files of eighteenth century newspapers, such as the Boston News Letter; Boston Gazette; Connecticut Gazette and Universal Advertiser and other New England newspapers for hundreds of such advertisements; Lorenzo J. Greene, The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776, (New York: Atheneum Press, 1969), pp. 145-149; Kenneth M. Stampp, The Peculiar Institution, (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), pp. 109-132.

[2] Connecticut Archives: Miscellaneous, 1662-1789. First Series, I, Vol.2, Documents 10, 12a-b, 13, 17, 18.

[3] Ibid., Document 10.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., Document 11.

[6] Ibid., Document 12a.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., Document 8, 12a-12c.

[9] Ibid., Document 13.

[10] Ibid., Document 14.

[11] Ibid., Document 16.

[12] Ibid., Document 16.

[13] Ibid., Document 15.

[14] Ibid., Document 18.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., Document 19.

[17] Ibid., Document 20.

[18] Ibid., Document 21a.

[19] Ibid., Document 21a.

[20] Ibid., Document 21b.

[21] Ibid., Document 21b.

[22] Virginia, in 1662, was the first colony to pass such a law, invoking the Roman Law regarding slavery, partuus sequitur ventrem (the child followed the status of the mother). This change overturned the English common law, where the child followed the status of the father, partuus sequitur patrem. James Ballagh, History of Slavery in Virginia, (Boston: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1902), p. 34.

[23] Op. cit., Document 21b.

[24] See Connecticut Colonial Records, 1680-1706, V. 375; Connecticut Acts and Charters (New London, 1729) p. 164.

[25] Op. cit., Document 21c. The lawyers based their contention upon Leviticus 25:45-46. Moreover of the Children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and their families that are with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen for ever: but over your brethren the children of Israel ye shall not rule one over another with rigour; see also Corinthians 7:21; Colossians 3:11.

[26] See Corinthians, 7:21; also Colossians 3:11.

[27] Op. cit., Document 21c.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid., Document 21d. No such argument would have been accepted had Hannah been white. See Greene, Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776.

[30] Ibid., Document 21d.

[31] See Greene, op. cit., pp. 183, et passim.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF BLACK ENGLISH DIALECT AS IT RELATES TO READING

By

LULA J. HENRY

INTRODUCTION

With the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1954, the deficiencies in reading among Black students in the United States became the concern of a great number of educators. The problems of teaching reading have always been complex, but teaching reading to Black students had not been considered any more complex than any other phase of the problem until teachers of other ethnic origins were delegated the responsibility. With this new responsibility, it became apparent that new emphasis must be placed on teaching reading to great numbers of economically deprived Black children whose reading achievement was well below the national norms. The many reports made on the education of the Black child center their information on ghetto youth. The report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968) states:

> For the children of the racial ghetto, the schools have failed to provide educational experiences which would help overcome the effects of discrimination and deprivation.
>
> Education for ghetto children is growing worse. In critical skills, verbal and reading ability, Negro students fall further behind whites with each year of school completed. (Dillard, 1972, p. 255)

It has been known for years that education in the poor section in the inner city has been substandard (Conant, 1961 and 1962). Environmental problems, poverty, discrimination, transiency, and teacher and parent defeatism have all conspired to give the inner city child inferior training. (Greene and Rejan, 1964; Kendall, 1964; Kolh, 1967; Eddy, 1967; Hentoff, 1966; Friebowitz, 1968).

When one considers reading as the most basic of all subjects, it

is no wonder that many concerns developed over the great reading deficiencies discovered among Black children. The deficiencies were apparent, the causes still debatable. Many causes have been discussed, but the one that came in for more attention and research, even in the seventies, is the idea that Black students speak non-standard English, have different speech patterns, which contribute to the difficult problem of teaching them to read.

Many books and numerous studies sprang up to seek solutions to the problem--"How does Black English affect learning to read?"

Dillard's book, Black English (1972), gives the history and usage of Black English in the United States. Baratz and Shuy (1969) edited Teaching Black Children to Read. Stewart, Educational Study Center in Washington, D.C., has done a great deal of research in the area of teaching Black students to read. Baratz and Stewart noted phonological and grammatical variations in the speech of some Black subjects. However, these linguists have invariably made different recommendations for the teaching of reading.

MYTHS CONCERNING BLACK ENGLISH DIALECT

Many Black children speak a non-standard dialect of English which is different, in varying degrees, from Standard English. Many teachers believe that the language spoken by these children is inferior, lacks complete grammatical construction and lexical form. This is not true. The morphology and verb structure constitute a complete grammar. The Black child may have a great number of words in his speech that substitute for words ordinarily used in Standard English. If the teacher is aware, if he knows about the substitution of words or phrases for commonly used words in his own speech, then no serious language problem need exist between the teacher and child. One language is not inferior, another superior; the two dialects of the language are just different.

Speakers of Black English Dialect Tend to be Less Verbal Than Middle Class Whites. The myth that speakers of Black English Dialect tend to be less verbal than their white middle class counterparts is just that, a myth. There have been a number of studies which have stated that the amount of verbal output depends upon the social context in which the speaker of Black English finds himself. This is true of speakers of Standard English as well. Houston, for example, describes how in Florida Black children verbalized less in "formal situation" than in "informal situations". One classic demonstration of the reinforcing effect of social context was Salzinges' clown puppet whose nose lit up each time a kindergarten child talked to it. That simple positive reinforcement was enough to control the

speech rate of the children. Socioeconomic status was, of course, a discriminant of language rate and quality, but the important point was that children became more verbal when they perceived the social context as positively reinforcing of verbal output. The child is the same organism, but the environment that provides certain kinds of positive reinforcers is different from the environment in which these reinforcers are absent (Cohne and Cooper, 1972, p. 36).

After listening to hundreds of hours of recordings of ghetto children's spontaneous speech, Dillard reports that non-professional linguists who have called ghetto children "non-verbal" just don't know what they are talking about. It may happen that a child from a poor home will be intimidated when he comes into a psychologist's office with air-conditioning and florescent lighting and fancy furniture; the ghetto child, in such surroundings, may hold back and refuse to talk whereas a middle-class child who knows more psychologists than day laborers will chatter away. The various researchers and plain conclusion-jumpers who have formulated analyses under conditions like that have obviously indulged in cultural bias of the worst sort (Dillard, 1972, p. 258).

Black English Dialect is Substandard to Standard English. What is at issue is the fallacy that Black children speak an inferior, error-ridden form of "low" English. Assuming a close relationship between language and cognition, that inferior form would contribute to poor cognitive development. Why? Because Black English is at least as complex as Standard English and in some respects markedly more sophisticated than Standard. The young Black child's non-standard form, when that form is Black English, is a well-ordered, highly structured, highly developed, sophisticated language system (Cohen and Cooper, 1972, p. 40).

The once widely held idea that there is a standard or correct English language toward which all users of the language should strive is no longer accepted. Effective communication occurs among speakers of a particular dialect although their grammar and usage do not conform to the grammar and usage of speakers of a different dialect. Currently, linguists are urging teachers to accept the reality of language differences without identifying one dialect as being superior to all others for communication purposes. The difference between "See can he go" is as natural and communicative to some listeners as "See if he can go" is to other listeners. "How inferior is different?" The speech of many Black Americans is seen as being different--both by Blacks and others. It has been suggested that this speech is inferior, corrupted; one hears and reads of lazy

lips and lazy tongues. Black speech has been viewed as a sign of cognitive deficiency and verbal deprivation. It has been designated as a significant factor in Black children's seeming inability to learn to read. Classroom teachers have failed to teach many Black children how to be successful readers.

Black Children Tend to Lose Comprehension Ideas in the Translation From Standard English to Black English. In a study by Baratz (1969), Blacks were asked to repeat what the investigator said. Black subjects translated Baratz's Standard English into Black English, and what was demonstrated was the Black's ability to decode and understand Standard English. Proof of their ability to comprehend was their ability to translate Standard English into Black English. Some kinds of subtle meaning mismatches showed up, but they involved high level tense changes that would not make a difference at the beginning reading stage.

Labov (1970) contends that there is an asymmetric relationship between Black children's speech production and language comprehension: a Black child may speak primarily Black non-standard but may understand both Standard and non-standard forms.

TYPES OF DEVIATIONS IN BLACK ENGLISH DIALECT

We do not all pronounce words, or the sounds in words, in the same way. The variations are the results of our exposure to regional and cultural dialects and to personal idiosyncrasies. Most of these differences occur on vowel sounds. For example, it is common in the South to pronounce long "i" as "ah". In many parts of the United States, "path" and "sat" are pronounced with the short vowel sound "a". Many New Englanders, however, pronounce "path" and "laugh" with an "ä" as in "father", while no "r" is heard in words like "yard" and "Harvard". Short "e" is indistinguishable from short "a" in some places and from short "i" in others. Those who work with children who speak divergent dialects must familiarize themselves with the special characteristics of those dialects. Sometimes words that rhyme in Standard English do not rhyme in a particular dialect, while words that do not rhyme in Standard English may rhyme in the dialect. When a child reads orally in accordance with his dialect, the deviations from Standard English should not be considered reading errors (Harris and Sipay, 1975, p. 203).

Phonological. According to Durkin (1974) the term "phonological" refers to speech sounds, in this case to the deviations in pronunciation that occur in non-standard speech. Examples of phonological deviations would be pronunciations like "bafe" for bath and "tes" for test.

An example used by Olson and Dillener explained that Tommy Carver had similar problems because of his pronunication. He typically pronounces "guard" like "god", "strap" like "scrap". The varied pronunciation of "help" did not affect his understanding of the sentences at all, as he was able to identify the word correctly and to pronounce it in Standard English in a reading situation.

If the word "helped" and "guard" were included in an IRI, it is likely that Tommy would pronounce them as he did in everyday speech. This could lead to the teacher's mistakenly interpreting these pronunciations as errors. Moreover, in other oral reading situations, if Tommy were compelled to insert phonemes that were ignored in his phonological system, the result could be pronunciations that were unfamiliar and meaningless to him. These pronunications could prove to be barriers in his progress in getting meaning from the printed page (Olson and Dillener, 1976, p. 54).

Melmed (1973) states that Labov did a study on sound systems of Negro dialect in New York City which reveals a battery of homonyms which are nonexistent for Standard English speakers, but which may affect the oral and silent reading of Black English speakers. Labov cautions that when such homonyms are pronounced, they must not be regarded as reading "mistakes". Rather, these are merely differences in dialect phonology. There are many phonological rules which affect the Black child's pronunciation "but not necessarily his understanding of the grammatical signals or his grasp of the underlying lexical forms."

Recent research has attempted to identify the differences between the dialect of contemporary whites and Blacks. Labov (1969) has conducted numerous comparative studies in which the careful and spontaneous speech of some New York whites and Blacks have been recorded. He reports the presence of the following phonological variables in the Black dialect:

1. r-lessness: In many cases the "r" is dropped before vowels, consonants, pauses, and in intervocalic positions. Example: Carol = Cal.

2. l-lessness: The "l" often is not vocalized. Example: help = hep.

3. Final consonant cluster is simplified: Labov notes that this is especially true of those which end in "t", "d", "s", or "z". Example: hold = hol.

4. Weakening of final consonants: The consonants "t" and "d" are most commonly affected. Example: road = row.

5. Similar sounds of short "e" and short "i": Before nasal the sound of these vowels are often indistinguishable. Example: cents = since (Labov, 1967m, p. 9).

Morphological. "Morphological" is defined as free from the rules of plural markers and tense markers. Example: "two dollars" becomes "two dollar " "talked" said as "talk."

Phonological features which affect morphology have been discussed in studies of Black English, particularly with regard to forming plurals, possessives, and the tense system. Some analogical forms which are considered child language in Standard English are common in adult Black English: "teeth/teefes," "children/childrens," "funnier/more funny," "the best car/the goodest car," and "threw/throwed." Some verb forms which occur in Black English are older forms from Early Modern English: "clamb"-"climb", "holp"-"help", and "whup"-"whip" (Key, p. 10). The most common divergence from Standard English of the oral reading of Black non-standard-speaking children are elisions of common inflected forms: "s" and "es" marking noun plurals and third person singular verbs, "s" marking possessive nouns, and "d" and "ed" marking past tense of a verb (Rosen and Ames, 1976). Rather than treat such pronunciation automatically as an error, the teacher should question to find out whether or not the grammatical significance of the inflected ending was understood. A correct interpretation rendered in Black English should be accepted as correct reading.

Labov has stated that "person-number agreement" exists in Black English dialect for only one verb, "be", which differentiates "am", "is", and "are" in the same way the Standard English does. Thus the present tense conjugation of "be" in present Black English stands as an exception to a general rule of lack of agreement. On the basis of this research, Labov also concluded that although "is" and "are" can be deleted without a trace in present day Black English, "am" with the first person singular pronoun cannot be deleted.

The following are illustrative of grammatical divergencies found between Standard English and a non-standard dialect:

Standard	Non-Standard
	<u>Omission of "s" in plurals and possessives</u>
He gets to work early.	He get to work early.
I saw four cows.	I saw four cow.
John's dog runs home.	John dog run home.
	<u>Omission of "ed" endings</u>
We walked home.	He walk home.
I knocked three times.	I knock three times.

	Changes and omissions of verb forms
They were here.	They was here.
He is here.	He be here.
I am here.	I be here.
He is going.	He going.
We are always happy.	We be happy (always).
Now we are happy.	We happy (now).

Goodman points out that these grammatical divergencies will be reflected in the child's reading of standard texts and in his conversation (Heilman, 1974, p. 66).

Syntactic. Examples of variation classification as syntactic are commonly found in the way the verb "to be" is expressed. "She be" replacing "she is" is an illustration of this. Another type had to do with the way questions are worded and exemplified by the use of "What that child did?" in place of "What did that child do?" Other syntactic variations would include a different use of pronouns that would be found in Standard English. Instead of saying "we have to," for instance, an non-standard speaker might use "us got to." Or, instead of "his bike," "he bike" could be characteristic (Durkin, 1974, p. 212).

Baratz found that Black children in a socioeconomic neighborhood had facility in using a divergent of Black English with syntactical speech characteristics which diverged from standard speech norms in the following ways: (1) absence of the "s" in the third person singular, present tense; (2) zero copula; (3) double negation and the use of "ain't"; (4) substitution of "did" or "can" for the "if" expression of option or condition; (5) zero past marker; (6) zero possessive marker; (7) zero plural marker; and (8) use of "be" in the habitual sense, although additional syntactical and phonological divergent forms have been identified by other linguists.

In Black English vernacular, there is no "s" in the present as we have seen. The "ed" in the past can be dropped as often as 90 percent of the time.

Seville suggests that because the children have perfected the syntax of their dialect, which is not the syntax of the classroom English, they will have difficulty reading conventional basic reading materials.

THE EFFECTS OF BLACK ENGLISH DIALECT ON VARIOUS LEARNING BEHAVIORS

Since learning to read is basic to learning in all other subjects, the pupil who is plunged immediately into learning to read Standard English is faced with a double learning task: learning to decode and inter-

pret reading symbols, and learning a new language.

Furthermore, if he has a teacher who doesn't accept his dialect and frequently corrects what she considers to be his "bad English," he is apt to develop feelings of inferiority and experience a lowering of self-concept, which is another hazard in learning to read and speak.

It is true that some children speaking non-standard English dialect do overcome these barriers and make the transition directly from speaking their dialect to reading material printed in Standard English. However, there are thousands and thousands of children who are not able to make this transition successfully unless they are given assistance.

Many children in this situation make a limited achievement in reading and English in first grade. Nevertheless, due to grading and promotion policies, they are passed on through the elementary school, ever continuing to be poor readers, until perhaps they drop out at junior high school or are assigned to a remedial specialist. Their school life often consists of a series of frustrations, failures, and unhappy experiences. Hence, the dialect problem is by no means confined to reading in first grade. It may extend throughout their school years in reading and English which is essential to achievement of all subject areas. For these reasons it is apparent that students with dialect problems that hinder their achievement should have special attention at any school level (Smith, 1975, p. 138).

Reading. Goodman with Buck has examined his previous research in the field of reading which supported the hypothesis that there was a direct relationship between the degree of dialect divergence and success in learning. The less "standard" the child, the lesser the ability to learn. He has now revised his thinking to conclude that the reading problems of the divergent learners can best be resolved by changing the attitudes and teaching patterns of the instructor. Sub-dialects of Black English or any ethnic patterns are not to be regarded as substandard and uneducable--in reality, these are very articulate children who have learned to survive in a variety of dialects. A teacher's responsibility is to teach comprehension rather than to dwell on pronunciation since there really is no norm for it, since even different regions have their own dialect.

If there is evidence that Black speakers of divergent English are indeed bidialectal, having available resources of Standard English as well as divergent English, then they may just as well be taught with materials written in the prestige dialect even though it might be necessary to

"modify the content and vocabulary of Standard English materials to better reflect the environment of the child . . ." (Venezky, 1970, p. 340). This point of view is expressed by one writer (Jovanovich, 1971-72, 46) in this way:

> It is repeatedly suggested that Black children should be provided with books that imitate street language: for example, "My grandmother she cook green" -- this being a sentence I found in a primer that was experimentally used in a Chicago school. Most Black educators agree that presenting such usage to children is quite useless. A child who can read that sentence will also be able to read, "My grandmother cooks greens," and if he is confronted with such writing he will be affronted.

Stewart reminds us that the Black child may be able to set up his own sound-spelling correspondences--a system different from that of the speaker of Standard English--but which allows him effective word identification. For example, he will likely substitute "f" and "v" for the two sounds of "th", so that he learns to use "f" and "v" for "th" when it appears other than at the beginning of the word. Thus, he is able to read "bref" for "breath" and "brev" for "breathe."

Labov and Robins suggest that culture factors rather than language factors account for much of the failure by Blacks to learn to read. The Black vernacular speaking child has to make correspondences between the forms he already controls, both receptively and productively, and the form found in the primers as well as those used in reading instruction by the teacher. It has been said that Black children have more trouble than whites learning to read because they don't hear Standard English spoken in the home.

Samuel J. Marwit and Gail Neumann of the Psychology Department of University of Missouri in St. Louis say that this is not so. They conducted a study using second graders from St. Louis County Public Schools with results which indicated that Blacks did indeed score lower than whites in reading comprehension, but not for the reasons most commonly viewed by today's social science experts.

Sixty Black and fifty-three white students who had previously been distinguished by their race-related language patterns were given either the standard version of the reading comprehension section of the California Reading Test or a "blackened" version of the test. The ethnic variety was prepared by two Black St. Louis teachers who translated such passages as "Ray plays with the cow. The cow's name is Spotty" to "Ray, he play with

the cow. The cow name Spotty." The two forms were administered to both Black and white students, in part of the group tested under a Black examiner while the rest worked under a white examiner. Besides the white students outscoring the Blacks, the researchers noted that both races scored higher on the Standard than on the non-standard English form, and the Black child did better on the Standard one when it was administered by a white examiner. Citing other studies that support their findings, they verify that the Black oral tradition is in evidence, but that it doesn't interfere with learning. The researchers were a little stumped when the Black children did better in Standard English than in "Black talk". Perhaps, they speculate, the children were familiar with Standard English after all and recognized it as the accepted classroom form. Or maybe they were just a little leery of talking "Black" in class.

Finally, Black students did as well as whites when performing for a white teacher using Standard English. It is reasonable to suggest that Black second graders can comprehend written material as well as white second graders but manifest this only under specified conditions.

Listening. It has been confirmed by several studies that auditory discrimination was particularly poor among disadvantaged Black children when measured by a readiness test. Linguists have pointed out that this apparent difficulty is the result of a tendency of the children to hear words as they are pronounced in Black English. Many Black children will report that "pin" and "pen" sound the same, since there is no discernible difference in the way speakers of Black English pronounce these words. Black English dialect has a tendency to diminish or completely elide final consonant sounds, therefore, Black children have difficulty distinguishing such sounds. For such children, the validity of typical auditory discrimination tests is questionable.

Poor auditory discrimination is often accompanied by inaccurate or indistinct pronunciation. The child who says "wiv" for "with" is likely not to notice the difference between a "v" sound and a "th" sound within a word, and children who confuse "m" with "n" in reading often mumble the sound in their own speech so as to produce something between "m" and "n" for either. A child who says "mudder", "fadder", and "brudder" cannot easily learn the "th" symbol-sound association for reading. It is hard for many children to discriminate the short vowels; "pin" and "pen", "men" and "man", sound alike to them. It is particularly difficult for children to learn to make a discrimination that does not occur in the dialect they speak. Lack of adequate auditory discrimination ability also

penalizes the child in listening situations. Much learning takes place through listening and if words are misperceived or confused with similar sounding words there is likely to be inaccurate listening comprehension.

Peisach (1965), using the Cloze technique, failed to find racial differences in children's ability to replace words deleted in passages from teacher's speech samples. Eisenberg, et. al. (1968) reported that both white and Black children had higher listening comprehension scores for monosyllabic words in response to white (as oppose to Black) speakers.

Torrey (1969) using a matching procedure (oral phrases to pictures) found that Black second graders could comprehend morphemes which did not seem to occure in their spontaneous speech.

CONCLUSION

In this paper many views have been expressed concerning Black English Dialect. Some writers feel that Black English stems from one's environment, and when the child comes to school he hears a dialect different from that of his own, then he has trouble learning to read.

Most Black parents would object to their children using books in school written in dialect because this is one of their reasons for wanting their children to get an education so that they can acquire the proper English usage to survive in society and society does not accept dialect.

Better still, the teacher will have to be willing to accept the child's dialect as his manner of communication. He may be able to translate Standard English into his dialect and still get the intended message. These children are much smarter than their teachers give them credit for, because they are able to understand the teacher's language and still translate it into his own whereas the teacher doesn't understand the child's dialect and starts his process of correcting mispronounced words instead of finding out if the child is using the word in proper context and if he knows the correct meaning.

It is my conclusion that the inner-city teacher and others who encounter speakers of non-standard dialect should accept the child's dialect as long as he is able to comprehend and decode the printed symbols. The child should not be corrected every time he mispronounces a word since it is likely that he will come to imitate the teacher's language.

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THE WAR THAT BUILT A SCHOOL: THE FOUNDING OF LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

By

CHARLES R. MINK

Late in 1865 Melanie and Scarlett listened to Will Benteen read with great difficulty the lines of a poem written on the back of a Confederate note.

Representing nothing on God's earth now
And naught in the waters below it--
As the pledge of a nation that's passed away
Keep it, dear friend, and show it.

Show it to those who will lend an ear
To the tale this trifle will tell
Of Liberty, born of patriots' dream,
Of a storm-cradled nation that fell.

Thus Margaret Mitchell in her fame-won novel Gone With the Wind saw the defeat of a nation, the destruction of a patriot's dream.[1] What Will Benteen did not see in this piece of poetry is that with the collapse of a nation the hopes of other patriots, Black Americans, could begin to emerge.

After each war man must rebuild what he has destroyed, but in no other war has this country had so much to rebuild. In addition to bridges and roads, houses and factories, the nation was faced with the added burden of rebuilding its entire social system, a project as yet not completed. Freedom itself does not necessarily free man; the slaves, the Black freedmen, though technically free, were still enslaved. The Emancipation Proclamation, the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments did not free minds and spirits or develop the reservoirs of potential necessary for Blacks to become citizens. The key to unlock their chains was seen early by many--education. This article will trace the molding of one such key, Lincoln Institute of Missouri, a school that opened its doors on September 17, 1866, with one white teacher and two Black students. Truly a key to the Black

man's delimma, Lincoln has today educated tens of thousands of men and women.

The struggle to establish Lincoln, founded from contributions of both Black and white soldiers, began with the firing on Fort Sumter in April, 1861. With the beginning of the Civil War, Northern Negroes immediately offered their services as soldiers to President Abraham Lincoln.[2] Secretary of War Simon Cameron received letters from free Negroes offering not only their services as troops, but also stating in some cases that they would equip themselves.[3] The most eloquent Black abolitionist, Frederick Douglass, joined the struggle to allow Blacks to fight a few short weeks after Fort Sumter when in May of 1861 his Douglass Monthly carried an editorial entitled "How to End the War." His solution to end the war was simple:

> Let the slaves and free colored people be called into service, and formed into a liberating army, to march into the South and raise the banner of emancipation among the slaves.[4]

Douglass and other supporters of the use of Negro troops found little support for their proposals from the President. Lincoln was faced with the tremendous task of holding the support of Northern Conservatives and Southern Unionists. Keeping the border states, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, in the Union became of utmost importance in Lincoln's thinking, and the employment of Black troops and the freeing of slaves could not be considered if he hoped to hold them. The importance of this dilemma can be seen in a letter Lincoln wrote to O.H. Browning on September 22, 1861. Writing in regard to General John C. Fremont's emancipation proclamation freeing slaves in Missouri, Lincoln stated, upon hearing of Fremont's proclamation, ". . . a whole company of our volunteers threw down their arms and disbanded." Then Lincoln continued:

> I think to lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game. Kentucky gone, we can not hold Missouri, nor, as I think, Maryland. These all against us, and the job on our hands is too large for us. We would as well consent to separation at once, including the surrender of this capitol.[5]

Thus the Negro, perhaps realizing the war offered great opportunities, would have to wait to serve his country.

The struggle continued as Thaddeus Stevens, radical leader of the House of Representatives, introduced a bill in January, 1862 to allow the enlistment of 150,000 Negro troops. This bill passed the House but was defeated in the Senate.[6]

On July 17, 1862, Lincoln signed a Second Confiscation Act freeing fugitive, captured and abandoned slaves of Confederates and allowing the President to use them to suppress the rebellion.[7] Lincoln in a "Memorandum on Recruiting Negroes" dated five days later, July 22, 1862, stated he had no objections to recruiting slaves of rebels, free Negroes or even slaves of loyal owners with their consent.[8] But it was not until the middle of 1863 that the administration became completely committed to the use of Negro troops.[9]

The first enlistment of Negro troops in Missouri did not get into full swing until the fall of 1863. Missouri, a state Lincoln considered critical in the defense of the Union, had a small free Negro population of 3,572 and a slave population of 114,931.[10] With the passage of General Order Number 143 on May 22, 1863, Negro troops could be mustered directly into the United States Army. Thus Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, who had replaced Cameron, sent Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas into the Mississippi Valley to recruit Negro regiments and to enlist white officers to lead the regiments.[11]

General John M. Schofield, commander of the Department of Missouri, ordered Colonel William Pile's 33rd Missouri Volunteers to begin the enlistment of Negroes of rebels providing the Missouri Governor, Hamilton Gamble, consented. Gamble agreed, but Pile found it impossible to refrain from enlisting slaves of loyal Missourians. John Blassingame contended that by the end of September ". . . practically all of the slaves of identifiably disloyal masters had been enlisted. . . ."[12]

Among the first Negro troops in Missouri were the 1st Missouri Regiment of Colored Infantry organized at Benton Barracks, Missouri, between December 7 and 14, 1863 and the 2nd Missouri Regiment of Colored Infantry organized at Benton Barracks on December 18, 1863. These two units, whose designation would become the 62nd and 65th United States Colored Infantry on March 11, 1864, when they were mustered into the United States Army, are the founders of Lincoln University.[13]

These two units saw little action during the war yet left their toll of dead. First Lieutenant Richard B. Foster of Company I of the 62nd, first Principal of Lincoln Institute, recalled that the 62nd did little fighting yet left ". . . 400 men in Southern graves who died for their country as truly as though they had fallen in battle."[14] The 65th Regiment lost 749 enlisted men and 6 officers by disease; included were 100 men who died the first two months in the service as a result of having been sent to Benton Barracks in December without shoes or hats, with thin

clothing, and with few provisions for food.[15] The 65th saw no action during the war. It performed garrison duty at Morganza, Port Hudson, and Baton Rouge, Louisiana until the men were mustered out on January 8, 1867.[16] Likewise the 62nd saw garrison duty in Baton Rouge and Morganza, Louisiana and Brazos Santiago, Texas. Soldiers of the 62nd did see action in Texas at Palmetto Ranch on May 12-13, 1865 and at White's Ranch May 13, 1865. In his report of the battles, dated May 18, 1865, Colonel David Branson stated the 62nd fought well. In these skirmishes the 62nd reported two men missing and five wounded, while capturing three Confederate prisoners.[17] This engagement took place five weeks after Lee's surrender; thus it is fitting that Black troops took part in one of the last skirmishes of the Civil War. Their opportunities to fight were very few, yet their contributions did have an effect on the war. Their role in the occupation of Brazos Santiago effectively blocked the Rio Grande and helped destroy the supply line of the Confederacy with the outside world through Matamoras, Mexico.[18]

With the ending of war, the nation turned toward solving the problems (social, political and economic) necessitated by the freeing of Black Americans. Colonization, 40 acres and a mule, and a second-class citizenship were just a few of the suggestions. But Northern abolitionists turned almost in unison towards education. The desire of Negroes to learn was discovered early in the war during the Port Royal Experiment. William Gannett, a young Gideonite, wrote of the Negroes' "profound reverence for the written word" when he stated, "They had seen the magic of a scrap of writing sent from a master to an overseer and they were eager to share such power if there were any chance."[19] Teachers earlier learned that there was an exciting desire to learn and that Negro children were as capable of learning as were white children of the same age and circumstances.[20] Later, Negroes would ask for more teachers to come to the South and teach their children. A mass meeting held in Memphis, as reported in the Liberator, January 29, 1864, reflected this concern:

> Resolved, That we recommend the teachers to bring their tents with them, ready for erection in the field, by the roadside, or in the fort, and not to wait for magnificent houses to be erected in time of war. . .[21]

The desire to learn also helped to attract Negroes into the army, according to Colonel James McKaye. As a member of the Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, he found "the best built cabin was the schoolhouse" in the camps of Negro regiments.[22] Lieutenant James Monroe Trotter of the Massachusetts Fifty-Fourth Regiment has left a glowing account of the desire of Blacks to learn in "The School-master in the Army."[23] The Negro soldier thought

that, except for his illiteracy, he might be a sergeant or an officer.

Blacks and whites recognized the need for education among the Black population for both present and future generations. Lieutenant Foster of the 62nd embodied such views when he stated, "No more shall education be forbidden and virtue be impossible for any part of our population."[24] Foster, one of the first officers of the 62nd, transferred from the 1st Nebraska Cavalry on December 29, 1863, and remained with the outfit until the Unit was mustered out on January 19, 1866, in Brownsville, Texas.[25]

Plans to establish a school for Negroes in Missouri began in January, 1866, at Fort McIntosh, Texas. Here, Foster and Lieutenant Aron M. Adamson discussed the possibilities of raising money to start such an endeavor. Adamson then consulted officers and a decision was reached to collect money for a school.[26] Thus it seems from available information the real force behind the founding of Lincoln was Adamson. In 1867, then Principal of Lincoln, Foster, in a letter to the new superintendent of Freedmen's School, Major F.A. Seeley, stated, "I was an officer in that regiment but did not originate the movement excepting that I consented to take charge of the school."[27]

Thus the men of the 62nd Infantry met in January, 1866 and passed the following resolution:

> Whereas, the freedom of the Black race has been achieved by war, and its education is the next necessity thereof, resolved, that we, the officers and the enlisted men of the 62nd United States Colored Infantry (organized as the First Missouri Volunteers of A.D.) agree to give the sums annexed to our names, to aid in founding an educational institution, on the following conditions:
>
> First, the Institute shall be designed for the special benefit of the freed Blacks.
> Second, it shall be located in the state of Missouri.
> Third, its fundamental idea shall be to combine study with labor, so that the old habits of those who have always labored, but never studied, shall not be thereby changed and that the emancipated slaves, who have neither capital to spend nor time to lose, may obtain an education.[28]

The unit then formed a committee to solicit funds for their endeavor. The members of the committee, in addition to Adamson and Foster, included Captain Henry R. Parson, Captain Harrison Du Bois, and Surgeon C. Allen. The committee imposed upon themselves the obligation that if the sum of 20,000 dollars was not reached by July 1, 1867 then all contributions of

the Negro soldiers should be refunded. This committee was not required by the Blacks who donated their money to include such a refund provision.[29]

The officers of the 62nd gave 1,034 dollars and the enlisted men 3,966 dollars. The 65th Infantry was asked to contribute and gave 1,379 dollars. The complete breakdown of contributions is not available but some of the larger contributors were: Dr. C. Allen, Colonel Barret and Lieutenant Colonel Branson, and a Black soldier of the 65th, Samuel Sexton, 100 dollars each; First Sergeant Brown, 75 dollars; and Sergeants Curd, Bergamine, Alexander and Moore, and all lieutenants gave 50 dollars each. Additional funds came in from the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 2,000 dollars, and miscellaneous contributions of 256 dollars.[30]

The committee then decided to contact interested people in St. Louis. After a meeting in St. Louis on February 20, 1866, a Board of Trustees was established for Lincoln Institute. Added to the original committee were James E. Yeatman and J.W. McIntyre of St. Louis and Henry Brown. The board drew up the Articles of Incorporation which were presented to the Cole County Circuit Court on June 25, 1866. Lincoln Institute was now ready to find a home in Jefferson City as Article 2 of the Charter stated the school shall be located in or near Jefferson City. Article 8 stipulated that no tests founded on race or color should be allowed for teachers, students, officers or members of the Board. The only provision struck out by Judge Miller was one stating "legal existence for one hundred years and thereafter."[31]

From the list of Trustees on June 25, 1866, we find some significant changes. Included in Lincoln Institute's Board can be found the names of Governor Thomas Clement Fletcher, State Treasurer William Bishop, and Attorney General Robert Franklin Wingate.[32] With such influencial men, one would think money would be forthcoming for Lincoln.

Lincoln Institute was not destined to be the first school for Blacks in Missouri. The American Missionary Society had established a school for free Blacks in Warrensburg in 1864 and public instruction was given Blacks in the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission School at Benton Barracks. Missouri provided education for Blacks earlier than the other border states having 38 schools operating by 1867. The first Black Senator of the United States, Hiram R. Revels, was a teacher in one of Missouri's earliest Negro schools, located in St. Louis, in 1854.[33]

But the fact that Negro education had already begun would not lighten the burden of Lincoln's Board of Trustees, for these schools did

not end racism or give bricks and mortar to Lincoln. The problem of racism appears in the next addition of The People's Tribune after Lincoln's charter was filed. An article entitled "Our Colored Friends to Have a College" stated that no tests for race or color should be allowed. The article concluded with the following:

> The following paragraph, from the New York Post, "comes in" very appropriately, right here:
>
> "A grand wedding occurred at Mobile on the 11th, at the African church. Samuel Jackson, a negro man, once the slave of General Beauregard, married Sarah Jones, a white schoolmistress. The house was crowded by negroes. The friends of the pair afterwards participated in a banquet at the house of the bridegroom. The newly married pair left on an early train to visit the bride's friends at the North."[34]

This conclusion is another example of kindling one of the overworked fears of integration--intermarriage.

The newspaper continued the next week to express its views and perhaps the views of the majority of white Missourians towards the establishment of a Negro College in Missouri:

> **THE NEGRO COLLEGE**
>
> We published last week the particulars in respect to the establishment of a Negro College at this point to be called the "Lincoln Institute." It seems the design is to make Missouri the negro State of the Union! Instead of sending what negroes we have down South or to Africa, they are to be virtually invited to remain with us! And not only this, but all the negroes in the Union are to be invited to settle in Missouri! The Northern people desire to get rid of their negroes, and therefore will furnish money to establish this Negro College. And the negro soldiers are to contribute--several regiments of negroes, according to the Times, having already subscribed large sums of money to found a Negro College.
>
> This is the plan to make Missouri a Negro State. The Governor and State officers invite negroes to take possession of the State! If the plan goes forward Jefferson City, The Capitol of Missouri, will at an early day become the mecca of the negro. Here they will first concentrate, and here practical, social and political equality Will first be attempted.[35]

Racism was not one-sided. Foster reported that in his search to find a house to begin classes he was refused use of the Negro Church:

> I applied to the colored Methodist Church for their house, promising that we would repair it and pay rent.
>
> The trustees consented, but the minister refused, alleging as a reason, that the teacher would be white.

> I applied to the white Methodist Church, sometimes called the North Methodist, for the basement of their house, promising that we would put it in order and pay rent. The trustees were willing, but the minister refused, alleging as a reason that the scholars would be Black.[36]

The white Methodist Church refused to allow the school to use its basement because the students were Black. But Foster did locate a dilapidated building with two 22 feet square rooms and on September 17, 1866, Lincoln Institute opened its doors to two students, Henry Brown and Cornelius Chappelle.[37] Foster soon employed two more teachers, Mr. Festus Reed at $200 a year and Mrs. C.A.R. Briggs, who was given five dollars a month by the Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission and board. Mrs. Briggs is the same woman who opened the school for Negroes in Warrensburg in 1864.[38]

Thus the foundation stones on which a University was built were now in place. The struggle for funds and support still continued. Foster now carried the struggle to the General Assembly and the Missouri State Teacher's Association. In a speech delivered in St. Louis before the State Teacher's Association he condemned Missouri's neglect of Negro schools. Foster cited the State Superintendent of Schools Report that 34,000 Negro children were in the "educable age" yet only 2,000 attended in the 59 public Negro shcools. Foster claimed the figures incorrect, stating that the total was closer to 50,000 in the "educable age" with 5,000 actually attending. In Jefferson City, Foster stated, a new 10,000 dollar school house for whites was available while 350 Negro children attended classes in a 22 feet, one room building that was valued as worthless.[39]

Principal Foster also attacked Missouri's outlays to other institutes: the Military Institute at Lexington, 6,000 dollars; a new home for the President at the University of Missouri, 10,000 dollars; and State University, 29,259 dollars. He continued:

> No colored student is ever seen in either of those institutions. No Statute law forbids their presence, but it is prohibited by a law whose edicts are more certain to be obeyed than those of the Legislature--the law of public opinion. I demand that the next biennial report of the State Auditor shall show disbursements to an institution of learning above the grade of the common school, that shall be open to colored students.[40]

Perhaps his appeal had some influence, for on February 14, 1870, Governor Joseph Washington McClurg signed into law a bill making Lincoln Institute a State Normal School for the training of Negro teachers.[41] The first building was erected the following year and the enrollment increased from 2 students in 1866 to 216 students in 1871.[42]

The People's Tribune of July 9, 1873 reported the first reunion of the veterans of the 62nd United States Colored Infantry. Among the resolutions passed, one declared that the school they had endeavored to build was a success and another called on the State of Missouri "to allow the admission of colored children into the public schools, where from any cause no separate school is provided."[43]

From its inception, Lincoln Institute, now Lincoln University, was surrounded by an aura of, what must have seemed to many, impossible hope. Out of a war had come victory of a sort for the Black American; other victories would be necessary to assure any real hope. The hope inherent in education was perhaps best exemplified by Col. David Branson, Commander of the 62nd United States Colored Infantry, upon the dedication of the first institute-owned Lincoln building. In his dedication speech Col. Branson said:

> This with one exception, has been the happiest 4th of July in my life. That exception was in 1863, when I saw the Rebel flag go down at Vicksburg. I felt the exultation of victory then and I feel it today as I look upon this splendid building.[44]

First on the battlefield, then in the classroom--victory for the American Black. Although the need for a school to train Negro teachers per se no longer exists, the school begun by the men of the 62nd continues to mold the educational lives of many. With a current enrollment of approximately 2,400, Lincoln crosses the continued barriers of race, culture, and environment to reach people who want to learn.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Margaret Mitchell, Gone With the Wind, (Garden City, New York: International Collectors Library, 1936), p. 340.

[2] Many free Blacks in the South also offered their services to Confederate leaders to fight for the South.

[3] Herbert Aptheker (ed.), A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, Vol. I. (New York: The Citadel Press, 1951), pp. 459-461.

[4] Douglass Monthly (May, 1861) as quoted in Dudley Taylor Cornish, The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army 1861-1865, (New York: W. W. Norton Company, Inc., 1966), p. 4.

[5] Roy P. Basler (ed.), The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. IV, (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1953), p. 532. Fremont had issued a proclamation freeing slaves in Missouri on August 30, 1861 without Lincoln's permission. Lincoln quickly rescinded Fremont's order.

[6] Fawn M. Brodie, Thaddeus Stevens: Scourge of the South, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1959), p. 160.

[7] Cornish, op. cit., p. 46; Benjamin P. Thomas and Harold M. Hyman, Stanton: The Life and Times of Lincoln's Secretary of War (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 233.

[8] Basler, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 338.

[9] Negro enlistment began in 1862 but not on a large scale.

[10] U.S. Bureau of Census, Eighth Census of the United States: 1860 Population, pp. 278-283. See also U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Negro Population of the United States, 1790-1915. (Washington, D.C., 1918), p. 57.

[11] Thomas and Hyman, op. cit., U.S. War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 130 vols. (Washington, 1890-1901), Ser. III, Vol. III, pp. 215-216. (Hereinafter cited O.R.).

[12] John W. Blassingame, "The Recruitment of Negro Troops in Missouri During the Civil War," Missouri Historical Review, Vol. LVIII, No. 3 (April, 1964), p. 329; O.R. Ser. III, Vol. III, p. 356; John M. Schofield, Forty-Six Years in the Army (New York: The Century Company, 1897), pp. 69-76.

[13] Frederick H. Dyer, A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion, 3 Vols. (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1959), Vol. III, pp. 1322-1323, 1733-1734; W. Sherman Savage, The History of Lincoln University (Jefferson City, Missouri: Lincoln University, 1939), p. 1. Benton Barracks was located four and one-half miles northwest of St. Louis. It was used as a prisoner of war camp, hospital, and training area; O.R. Ser. II, Vol. V, p. 260 and O.R. Ser. II, Vol. VI, pp. 406-408.

[14] Missouri State Times (Jefferson City, Missouri) July 14, 1871. Most Negro troops were used in garrison duty. One reason they did not see much action was because of the Southern policy to treat all white officers and Negro soldiers as criminals and leaders of slave insurrections and crime which was punishable by death. There are examples of many executions and massacres of Negro troops and white officers captured by the Confederacy; Thomas and Hyman, op. cit., p. 372; Cornish, op. cit., pp. 168-180.

[15] Dyer, op. cit., p. 1734; Peter M. Bergman (Comp.), The Chronological History of the Negro in America, (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1969), p. 234.

[16] Ibid., p. 1734.

[17] O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XLVIII, Pt. I, pp. 267-269.

[18] Clarence C. Chendenen, Blood on the Border: The United States Army and the Mexican Irregulars, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1969), p. 54.

[19] As quoted in Willie Lee Rose, Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment, (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1964), p. 86. This was the first contact the abolitionists had with the slaves. The sea islands off the South Carolina coast had been captured early and the masters fled, leaving their slaves in the hands of Union soldiers.

[20] Ibid., p. 88.

[21] Aptheker, op. cit., p. 493.

[22] Leslie H. Fishel, Jr. and Benjamin Quarles, The Negro American: A Documentary History, (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1967), p. 236.

[23] Joseph T. Wilson, The Black Phalanx: A History of Negro Soldiers of the United States in the Wars of 1775-1812, 1861-1865, (Hartford, Connecticut: American Publishing Company, 1888), pp. 505-507.

[24] R.B. Foster, "History of Lincoln University," Missouri State Historical Society Library, Columbia, Missouri, July 4, 1871, p. 6.

[25] 62nd Missouri Colored Volunteers Infantry Card Box. Adjutant General's office, Missouri National Guard, Jefferson City, Missouri.

[26] Foster, Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[27] W.A. Low, "The Freedmen's Bureau in the Border States," Richard O. Curry, (ed.), Radicalism, Racism, and Party Realignment: The Border States During Reconstruction, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1969), p. 260; Foster, op. cit., p. 6. The entire letter is printed in Low's Chapter, pp. 260-262.

[28] Savage, op. cit., p. 2.

[29] Low, op. cit., pp. 260-261; Savage, op. cit., p. 2.

[30] Missouri State Times (Jefferson City, Missouri), February 15, 1867; Low, op. cit., pp. 260-261; Savage, op. cit., pp. 2-3; Foster, op. cit., p. 7. The Freedman's Bureau funds came in December, 1866. The exact figures differ in the various accounts but only slightly.

[31] The Peoples Tribune (Jefferson City, Missouri), June 27, 1866.

[32] Foster, op. cit., p. 9; State of Missouri Official Manual for the Years, 1963-1964, pp. 15, 72, and 81; Missouri State Times (Jefferson City, Missouri), February 15, 1867.

[33] Low, op. cit., pp. 258-259, p. 262.

[34] The People's Tribune (Jefferson City, Missouri), June 27, 1866.

[35] Ibid., July 4, 1866.

[36] Foster, op. cit., p. 10; Savage, op. cit., p. 7. There was a second Negro Church in Jefferson City but the American Missionary Association was already holding classes in their building.

[37] Foster, op. cit., p. 10; Savage, op. cit., p. 7. It is not known by the writer if Henry Brown, the student, and Henry Brown, the Sergeant who gave 75 dollars, and Henry Brown, a member of the Board of Trustees, are the same person.

[38] Low, op. cit., pp. 258-262.

[39] Weekly Missouri State Times (Jefferson City, Missouri), May 21, 1869.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Foster, op. cit., p. 12.

[42] Albert P. Marshall, "Soldiers' Dream: A Centennial History of Lincoln University of Missouri" (Jefferson City, Missouri: Lincoln University, 1966), pp. 5-6.

[43] The People's Tribune (Jefferson City, Missouri), July 9, 1873.

[44] David Branson, "Speech of Col. David Branson," Missouri State Historical Society Library, Columbia, Missouri (July 4, 1871), p. 15.

BLACK COLLEGES' RESPONSE TO DESEGREGATION: A CASE STUDY OF LINCOLN UNIVERSITY AND ALABAMA STATE UNIVERSITY

By

MYRA K. NORMAN

INTRODUCTION

Since 1954, when the Brown decision overturned the philosophy of "separate but equal," government efforts have been directed toward desegregating the education system at all levels. While the focus was on desegregating white institutions, the ruling also applied to the Black institutions of higher education. The push for the dismantling of a dual system of education in the states has raised several issues, including the issue of the survival of the Black institutions.

The purpose of this paper is not to discuss whether the Black institutions should survive but rather why they should survive. This paper will look at research which describes the need for Black institutions and the response to desegregation by these institutions. Specifically, two institutions will be discussed: Lincoln University of Missouri and Alabama State University. The description of these two institutions will be based on a questionnaire sent to each of them.

The Status of Black Colleges and Universities. The rationale for the survival of the Black institutions is based upon the tradition of diversity in education. In higher education, the education system has accommodated private institutions, public institutions, institutions for men, institutions for women, and institutions for Black students. In the forword of the report by the National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities, Elias Blake, Chair, stated:

> Diversity has historically been one of the more outstanding characteristics of postsecondary education in this country. It is through the embodiment of diverse institutions that the higher educational structure is able to extend its scope of curricula and services, attain high degrees of specialization and capability, and enlarge the population of college-going students to encompass a variety of culturally, socially, ethnically and financially

different students. It is through diversity that students are rendered the choices necessary in keeping with their abilities, needs, and aspirations (National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities, 1979).

Access to education for Black students has improved considerably since 1954. This was especially true in the 1960's and 70's. From 1966-1976, Black student enrollment increased 277% while white enrollment increased 51%. Blacks alone accounted for 45% of the enrollment increases in 1976 over the 1975 level. However, the type of colleges that Blacks attended is still important. Using the Carnegie classification for higher education institutions, the largest number of Blacks in four-year institutions was in the Comprehensive Universities and Colleges. Two-year colleges also have had a tremendous impact on Black student enrollment. In 1979, 42% of all Black students were enrolled in two-year colleges (National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities, 1979).

In spite of the tremendous gains made by Blacks in the past fifteen years, there are indications of problems of access for Blacks and low-income students. In their 1979 report, the National Advisory Committee found that the probability of attending college is still positively correlated with family income. Although Blacks represent 14 percent of the traditional college-age group of 18 to 24 years old, only 12 percent of this group attend college. On the graduate and professional levels, Blacks represented only 5.1 percent and 4.5 percent respectively of all students in 1976, and where 30 of every 100 white freshmen complete four years of college, only 17 of every 100 Black freshmen go on to complete four years of college (National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities, 1979).

As of 1971, 105 Traditionally Black Colleges still had predominantly Black enrollment. Of these institutions, there were 53 private and 32 public four-year institutions and 4 public and 16 private two-year colleges. Three institutions reported that more than 50% of their enrollment was white: Bluefield State College, 69%; West Virginia State College, 73.3%; and Lincoln University of Missouri, 50.8% (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1971).

The Black institution's progress toward desegregation has been affected by a number of factors, including the actions of various state governments. The individual states have gained an ever-increasing control of state-supported institutions, and will have an increasing effect on the

traditionally Black institutions' attempts to increase enrollment and upgrade programs. The ten states named in the Adams case were charged with eliminating a dual system of education in their respective states. Current research indicates that the states have not progressed in removing the dual systems. A NAFEO study, completed in 1977, found a trend toward centralized control of state colleges and universities. These policies have usually had a negative effect on Black institutions (National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities, 1979).

Another question faced by these institutions is not only how to increase white enrollment on their campuses, but how to integrate those students into the campus once they are enrolled. In 1978, white students comprised a little less that 10% of the total enrollment of Black schools. Two studies surveyed Black schools in the South as to the status of white students on these campuses. Information on respondent data, and their feelings on such factors as educational climate, learning experience, teacher competence, interpersonal relations, and overall satisfaction was gathered. The data showed that in general, the white students were not of traditional college age, and that while the white students were satisfied with their education, they felt ambiguous as to how they fitted in on the campus. The two studies seemed to indicate that while there was desegregation, there was not necessarily integration (Elam, 1978, and Stanley, 1978).

Closely related to the question of the integration of the white student is: "What is the desirable level of non-Blacks at a Black institution?" In 1977, a survey was taken of the five top administrators in 20 southern Black schools to determine their perception of an acceptable level of non-Black students, faculty and administrators at their institutions. A majority of those interviewed felt that white student enrollment should not exceed 30%. Approximately 73% of those interviewed felt that white faculty should not exceed 30%. However, 62% of those interviewed felt that white administrators should not exceed 10% (Burrows, 1977). There is a strong indication that these administrators think Black institutions should have essentially a Black administration.

Profile of Two Traditionally Black Institutions: Lincoln University of Missouri and Alabama State University. This section of the paper will look at the effect of desegregation on two traditionally Black institutions--Lincoln University of Missouri and Alabama State University. The two institutions were chosen because of their unique positions. Lincoln

University now has a majority-white student enrollment. A suit has been filed on behalf of Alabama State University contending that Auburn at Montgomery and Troy State should be merged with Alabama State University as part of the state's desegregation plan.

Questionnaires, which were tailored to each of the schools, were sent to both institutions. Each school was asked to provide information on enrollment, faculty, and administrators by race, as well as income by sources for the past 10 years. There were also more open-ended questions about enrollment of students on campus, the budgetary process, and state planning for higher education.

The discussion of these two institutions will not be a comparative study, but rather a description of what has happened to these two institutions in the last 10 years. This discussion will include tabulated data on students, faculty, administrators, and funds by sources. It will also include a brief description of each institution's role in its respective state, the efforts to expand and update programs, each institution's relationship to its state government, especially in obtaining appropriations, and a description of how each institution plans to maintain its identity as a Traditionally Black Institution.

Lincoln University, which was founded in 1866, is an 1890 Land-Grant University, and is located in the capital of Missouri. It is located approximately 30 miles from the main campus of the University of Missouri. Both institutions recruit students state-wide as opposed to the regional universities which are to recruit in the area surrounding the institutions.

Table 1 (See Appendix) shows student enrollment by race from 1972-73 to 1980-81. The data for 1970-71 and 1971-72 were not available. The figures show that Lincoln University's enrollment has remained relatively stable and that a majority of the students are white. A questionnaire answered by the Office of Planning and Analysis indicated that Black students tended to be traditional college-aged students living on campus. The characteristics of the white students tended to be bimodal. Approximately one-half of the students were older and married and were part-time students. The other half tended to be traditional college-aged students attending for 1-2 years with the idea of transferring their third year. Both groups lived at home and commuted.

Extracurricular activities were oriented toward the Black students, although white students were free to become involved. There was minimal participation by white students in band, choir, and football. The academic

clubs and the baseball team have shown greater white student involvement.

The data for administrators and faculty, by race, at Lincoln University was not available for the 10 years. Tables 2 and 3 (See Appendix) can give some idea of the trend at the institution for the past three years.

As indicated in the table, the racial composition of the faculty has followed the same trend as that of the student body. There has been a slightly larger number of white faculty. Over the years, the racial composition of the faculty has remained evenly balanced.

On the other hand, the data on administrators at Lincoln University indicate the same pattern as the Burrows study. The data on administrators included administrative officers and administrative staff in 1978, and in 1979 and 1980, include these two categories plus academic administrative staff. No more than 15% of the administrators were white, indicating the feeling that the institution should be under a Black administration. This pattern of Black control became even more evident when administrative officers alone were looked at. Of the six administrative officers (key decision-makers)--President, Vice President, Dean of Students, Dean of Administrative Affairs, Business Manager, and Dean of University Relations--only one, the Dean of University Relations, was white.

The state government does have a great effect on the policies and programs of Lincoln University. Table 4 (See Appendix) shows income by sources for Lincoln University for the past 10 years. Again data for all the years were not available. The trend that is shown here is the rather heavy reliance on federal funds. At the same time, under President Carter, federal agencies were mandated to work with Traditionally Black Institutions because historically they have not received their fair share of federal funds. Table 5 (See Appendix) shows the comparison of general revenue appropriations of Missouri universities and colleges for five fiscal years and percent of increases. The figures indicate that Lincoln University has consistently received the smallest percent increase of all the universities and colleges in Missouri.

The survey indicates that the budgetary process at the state level also gives the state greater control over the universities. The budgeting process is initiated by the Department of Higher Education. A funding formula is used, based on the enrollment figures and data submitted by the individual institutions. The budget requests are then forwarded by the

Coordinating Board for Higher Education to the Governor, who makes his own recommendations, usually lower that these of the Coordinating Board. The legislature approves the appropriations after extensive hearings in which the presidents can appeal directly to the legislature. The appropriations bill is sent to the Governor for his signature. Since the Governor has line-item veto of appropriation bills, he can change the legislature's recommendation, especially if it is higher than his original recommendation.

The Coordinating Board also has an active role in program planning. Any new degree program must be approved by the Board. The purpose is to prevent unnecessary duplication of programs. However, since the University of Missouri is only 30 miles away, this has hampered Lincoln's efforts in program expansion. Lincoln has introduced several new degree programs within the last 10 years. At the Associate Degree level, programs were introduced in Nursing Science (RN) and Computer Technology. At the baccalaureate degree level, the following have been introduced: Mass Communication, Public Administration, Fashion Merchandising, Agribusiness, and Criminal Justice. All the new programs introduced reflect a trend toward career training.

The Coordinating Board has also devised a state-wide plan for higher education in the state of Missouri. Master Plan III, adopted in 1979, stated the following as to Lincoln's mission:

> . . . Should there be a resolution of the matter of funding two-year programs at four-year institutions, Lincoln could be encouraged to develop two-year offerings in several of its surrounding counties. Such programs could meet the needs for individuals in this particular region and would have a positive impact on fiscal conditions at Lincoln. . . . Finally, Lincoln is in an excellent position to focus the activities of relevant academic departments on the special needs of state government employees. Degree programs as well as specially services oriented toward public service and government would be of particular value (Department of Higher Education, 1979).

The last question asked was "How does the administration plan to maintain Lincoln's historical identity as a Black institution and at the same time serve the needs of the white students that are enrolled at Lincoln?" This question was especially crucial since the administration at Lincoln University was informed by the Department of Education that the institution was not eligible to apply for a Minority Institution Science Improvement Program (MISIP) because of the level of white student enrollment. Lincoln University maintains its membership in organizations concerned with Black institutions: NAFEO, OAPNAC, and the 1980 Land Grant

subset of NASULGC. As the tables on administrators indicated, the leadership of the University is still with Black administrators.

Aside from degree programs, the needs of white students are provided for with multicultural experiences. Lincoln University has been called the most integrated campus in the nation. The mixture of Black, white, and international students provides every Lincoln student with a broad cultural experience.

Alabama State University was founded in 1874 and like Lincoln University, is located in the capital of the state. Alabama State University must compete with two predominantly white institutions--Auburn at Montgomery and Troy State--for students. A lawsuit for Alabama State has been filed asking that Auburn at Montgomery and Troy State be merged with Alabama State, using the decision in the Geir case as precedence.

Alabama State was asked to provide enrollment by race for the past 10 years. While exact numbers were not available, the Institutional Research Office could report that the total non-Black enrollment (undergraduate and graduate combined) represented approximately one percent of the total. The total enrollment figures indicated that the enrollment had steadily grown over the past ten years. Graduate enrollment has also increased from 234 in 1970 to 400 in 1980.

The majority of the white students were graduate students living off-campus. Approximately 40% of all students lived on campus. The majority of these students were traditionally college-aged students and received some type of financial aid.

The racial mix of the faculty did not follow that of the student enrollment. As can be seen in table 6 (See Appendix), one-fifth to one-fourth of the faculty were white. This seemed to fit the pattern of the Burrows study.

Table 7 (See Appendix), which shows administrators by racial category, also seemed to indicate the same pattern found in the Burrows study. The majority of the administrators were Black at Alabama State, again indicating that for an institution to maintain its Black identity, it must remain under Black control. The table did not indicate the administrative level of the non-Black administrators.

Since Alabama State University is a state institution, state government is involved with the school, although not at the same level as the state of Missouri. Table 8 (See Appendix) shows income by source for the years 1969-70 to 1979-80. The percentage of state appropriations as

to total income was even less than the percentage Lincoln University received. There was a much greater reliance on income from other sources.

According to the survey, state appropriations for Alabama State have been made "incrementally" in the past. The institution submits its budget request simultaneously to the State Budget Office and to the Commission on Higher Education. The Commission makes recommendations for the funding of the university which is presented to the Governor. While the recommendations of the Commission are based on a funding formula which is zero-based and credit-hour driven, the appropriations from the state legislature are the result of the political process and have no formula basis.

There is no state-wide plan for higher education in Alabama, although a plan is being written by the Governor's office to comply with a federal order "to take further action to desegregate" higher education in Alabama.

Alabama State has been able to expand its program offerings considerably over the last ten years. It has introduced nine programs at the associate degree level, eight new programs at the baccalaureate degree level, seven new programs at the master's degree level and a specialist degree in four areas of education.

The last question: "If the suit Knight vs. James is successful, how will the administration maintain Alabama State's historical identity as a Black institution and at the same time serve the needs of the white students that are enrolled at the institution?" could not be answered at this time.

Conclusion. The survival of Traditionally Black Institutions has become a great concern, especially at a time of economic decline. Because of the economic climate and the findings of the Adams case, the debate as to whether Black institutions should survive has been revived. Even the Federal government has been of two minds, as stated by Morris:

> Policy initiative at the federal level has been impaired by two contradictory views of TBI's. On one hand TBI's are seen as the byproducts of isolation and the antithesis of racial integration. On the other hand, they are viewed as the institutions most responsible for making progress toward equal educational opportunity and most deserving of reward for progress made (Morris, 1979).

The description of two specific institutions--Lincoln University and Alabama State University--clearly illustrates the rapidly changing situation in higher education today. Each of these institutions has had

to adapt to its changing environment.

Lincoln University provides a good case study on the question of Black identity. The enrollment at the institution is now predominantly white, a fact that has been recognized by the school in setting up special programs. Yet, this institution was founded for Black students, and the administration is concerned that the Black heritage be recognized and maintained. The mission of the University, to serve disadvantaged students, has not changed. Yet Lincoln still fits the pattern of the Black institutions: underfunding from the state, heavy reliance on federal funds, and a questioning of its programs. Today, Lincoln is truly suffering from an "identity" crisis.

Alabama State also seems to be at a crossroad. The suit filed by the school could go against the university as well as for it. The Geier decision, while allowing a merger under the control of Tennessee State, does not guarantee that any other mergers between predominantly Black and predominantly white schools will be under the control of the Black institution. Alabama already has tried to block the development of Auburn at Montgomery and failed. The ten states in the Adams case will watch closely the development of the Alabama case, as well as the implementation of the merger in Tennessee.

The implications of desegregation of the Black institutions must be studied further. A comprehensive study that includes the 102 remaining Traditionally Black Institutions as well as the three institutions with predominantly white enrollments needs to be done. The study needs to look at enrollment patterns, funding patterns, Black/white relationships on campus, faculty and administrators, and the influence of external factors, such as federal and state governments on the policies of the institutions.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

STUDENT ENROLLMENT BY RACE, LINCOLN UNIVERSITY, 1970-71 TO 1980-81

YEAR	BLACK	WHITE	OTHER	TOTAL
1970-71	*	*	*	*
1971-72	*	*	*	*
1972-73	1,134	1,322	140	2,596
	(43.8%)	(50.92%)	(5.39%)	(100%)
1973-74	1,123	1,171	186	2,480
	(45.28%)	(47.21%)	(7.5%)	(100%)
1974-75	1,040	1,304	350	2,694
	(38.60%)	(48.40%)	(13.00%)	(100%)
1975-76	953	1,353	107	2,413
	(39.50%)	(56.07%)	(4.43%)	(100%)
1976-77	869	1,151	322	2,342
	(37.11%)	(49.14%)	(13.75%)	(100%)
1977-78	905	1,139	341	2,385
	(37.94%)	(47.76%)	(14.30%)	(100%)
1978-79	848	1,218	266	2,332
	(36.36%)	(52.23%)	(11.41%)	(100%)
1979-80	929	1,197	289	2,415
	(38.47%)	(49.56%)	(11.97)	(100%)
1980-81	1,048	1,319	290	2,657
	(39.45%)	(49.64%)	(10.91%)	(100%)

Source: 1972-77 Office of Institutional Research Special Report
1977-81 Hegis Report 2.3

TABLE 2

FACULTY* - LINCOLN UNIVERSITY, 1978-1980

YEAR	BLACK	WHITE	OTHER	TOTAL
1978	76	75	4	155
	(49.0%)	(48.4%)	(2.6%)	(100%)
1979	62	71	4	137
	(45.3%)	(51.8%)	(2.9%)	(100%)
1980	61	75	6	142
	(43.0%)	(52.8%)	(4.2%)	(100%)

* Full-time only
Source: Office of Planning & Analysis

TABLE 3

ADMINISTRATORS - LINCOLN UNIVERSITY, 1978-1980

YEAR	BLACK	WHITE	OTHER	TOTAL
1978*	24	4	0	28
	(85.7%)	(14.3%)	(0%)	(100%)
1979	31	6	0	37
	(83.8%)	(16.2%)	(0%)	(100%)
1980	30	6	0	36
	(83.3%)	(16.7%)	(0%)	(100%)

* 1978 Administrators do not include academic administrators
Source: Office of Planning & Analysis

TABLE 4

INCOME SOURCES, LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

YEAR	STATE APPROPRIATIONS	FEDERAL	OTHER
1970-71	*	*	*
1971-72	*	*	*
1972-73	*	*	*
1973-74	$3,989,195.00 (47%)	$2,462,125.00 (29%)	$2,089,282.00 (24%)
1974-75	$4,542,555.00 (52%)	$1,990,293.00 (23%)	$2,256,425.00 (22%)
1975-76	$4,535,313.00 (47%)	$2,976,310.00 (31%)	$2,079,689.00 (22%)
1976-77	$5,033,607.00 (50%)	$2,315,185.00 (23%)	$2,698,530.00 (27%)
1977-78	$5,097,272.00 (51%)	$1,937,814.00 (19%)	$3,049,996.00 (30%)
1978-79	$5,611,743.00 (51%)	$3,078,024.00 (28%)	$2,283,750.00 (21%)
1979-80	$5,958,868.00 (46%)	$4,499,910.00 (34%)	$2,648,748.00 (20%)

Source: Office of Planning and Analysis

TABLE 5

COMPARISON OF GENERAL REVENUE APPROPRIATIONS FOR

MISSOURI UNIVERSITIES & COLLEGES FOR 5 FISCAL YEARS

AND PERCENT OF INCREASES

INSTITUTION	FY1977	FY1978	FY1979	FY1980	FY1981	AVERAGE PERCENT INCREASE
Central Missouri	$14,000,000	$14,900,000 +6.4%	$16,300,000 +9.4%	$18,247,376 +11.9%	$19,966,411 +9.4%	+9.3%
Lincoln University	5,000,000	5,100,000 +2.0%	5,600,000 +9.8%	5,958,868 +6.4%	6,396,539 +7.3%	+6.4%
Missouri Southern	2,900,000	5,300,000 *(+82.8%)	6,000,000 +13.2%	6,262,750 +4.4%	6,631,760 +5.9%	+7.8%
Missouri Western	2,900,000	5,200,000 *(79.3%)	5,800,000 +11.5%	6,173,979 +6.4%	6,928,487 +12.2%	+10.0%
Northeast Missouri	9,600,000	9,800,000 +2.1%	10,900,000 +11.2%	11,825,474 +8.5%	13,792,753 +16.6%	+9.6%
Northwest Missouri	7,200,000	8,000,000 +11.1%	8,800,000 +10.0%	9,272,087 +5.4%	9,866,371 +6.4%	+8.2%
Southeast Missouri	10,800,000	12,400,000 +14.8%	14,000,000 +12.9%	15,789,759 +12.8%	17,384,751 +10.1%	+12.7%
Southwest Missouri	15,500,000	16,500,000 +6.5%	18,600,000 +12.7%	20,566,733 +10.8%	23,963,345 +16.5%	+11.6%

*Became fully State supported

Source: Budget Office. These figures differ from Audit Report figures because they are estimated and rounded.

TABLE 6

FACULTY* - ALABAMA STATE UNIVERSITY - 1970-1980

YEAR	BLACK	WHITE	OTHER	TOTAL
1970	82 (71.3%)	23 (20.0%)	10 (8.7%)	115 (100%)
1971	76 (65.0%)	30 (25.6%)	11 (9.4%)	117 (100%)
1972	86 (65.7%)	35 (26.7%)	10 (7.6%)	131 (100%)
1973	110 (73.8%)	28 (18.8%)	11 (7.4%)	149 (100%)
1974	115 (72.3%)	33 (20.8%)	11 (6.9%)	159 (100%)
1975	143 (74.5%)	37 (19.3%)	12 (6.2%)	192 (100%)
1976	145 (73.2%)	37 (18.7%)	16 (8.1%)	198 (100%)
1977	159 (74.7%)	41 (19.2%)	13 (6.1%)	213 (100%)
1978	153 (76.5%)	34 (17.1%)	13 (6.5%)	200 (100%)
1979	151 (72.2%)	44 (21.1%)	14 (6.7%)	209 (100%)
1980	148 (74.7%)	37 (18.7%)	13 (6.6%)	198 (100%)

* Includes full-time employees only. Also includes Administrators with Faculty Rank.

Data are for the Fall Quarter of each year.

Source: Institutional Research Office

TABLE 7

ADMINISTRATORS** - ALABAMA STATE UNIVERSITY - 1970-80

YEAR	BLACK	WHITE	OTHER	TOTAL
1970	29	1	0	30
	(96.7%)	(3.3%)	(0%)	(100%)
1971	30	2	0	32
	(93.8%)	(6.2%)	(0%)	(100%)
1972	34	2	0	36
	(94.4%)	(5.6%)	(0%)	(100%)
1973	36	2	0	38
	(94.7%)	(5.3%)	(0%)	(100%)
1974	39	3	0	42
	(92.9%)	(7.1%)	(0%)	(100%)
1975	53	3	1	57
	(93.0%)	(5.3%)	(1.7%)	(100%)
1976	49	4	1	54
	(90.7%)	(7.4%)	(1.9%)	(100%)
1977	46	3	1	50
	(92.0%)	(6.0%)	(2.0%)	(100%)
1978	48	6	0	54
	(88.9%)	11.1%)	(0%)	(100%)
1979	42	7	0	49
	(85.7%)	(14.3%)	(0%)	(100%)
1980	41	7	0	48
	(85.4%)	(14.6%)	(0%)	(100%)

**Includes those full-time employees with an EEO Code of 1 (Executive, Administrative, Managerial).

Data are for the Fall Quarter of each year.

Source: Institutional Research Office

TABLE 8

INCOME BY SOURCES - ALABAMA STATE UNIVERSITY - 1970-80

YEAR	STATE APPROPRIATIONS	FEDERAL	OTHER*	TOTAL
1969-70	2,364,000	459,151	3,290,641	6,113,792
	(38.7%)	(7.5%)	(53,8%)	(100%)
1970-71	2,539,849	762,279	3,160,675	6,462,803
	(39.3%)	(11.8%)	(48.9%)	(100%)
1971-72	2,736,574	778,028	3,482,159	6,996,761
	(39.1%)	(11.1%)	(49.8%)	(100%)
1972-73	2,883,798	1,396,285	4,292,628	8,572,711
	(33.6%)	(16.3%)	(50.1%)	(100%)
1973-74	3,900,319	1,339,795	5,099,061	10,339,175
	(37.7%)	(13.0%)	(49.3%)	(100%)
1974-75	4,141,832	1,736,011	4,760,188	10,638,031
	(38.9%)	(16.3%)	(44.8%)	(100%)
1975-76	5,484,021	2,933,230	5,533,295	13,950,546
	(39.3%)	(21.0%)	(39.7%)	(100%)
1976-77	5,441,856	3,653,058	4,280,058	13,374,972
	(40.7%)	(27.3%)	(32.0%)	(100%)
1977-89	5,964,954	4,408,469	5,763,608	16,137,031
	(37.0%)	(27.3%)	(35.7%)	(100%)
1978-79	7,167,778	4,398,578	5,124,511	16,690,867
	(42.9%)	(26.4%)	(30.7%)	(100%)
1979-80	6,950,793	5,489,862	4,824,708	17,265,363
	(40.2%)	(31.8%)	(28.0%)	(100%)

These figures reflect the University's Total Operating Budget (Including Auxiliary Enterprises). Capital Outlay Funds are not included.

*Includes Tuition and Fees in Other

Source: Institutional Research Office

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GERMAN IMMIGRANT LIFE IN MISSOURI

By

ADOLF E. SCHROEDER

In 1972 students in a German Honors class at the University of Missouri-Columbia shared with me some of the accounts handed down in their families of early immigrant life in Missouri which made me aware of the tenacity of cultural traditions in German-American communities and the integrity of cultural values brought to America by 19th century immigrants. With their help and the assistance of many interested local historians, we began an Oral History and Folklore Project at UMC for the purpose of collecting and preserving the heritage of folk culture surviving in rural and urban German communities in Missouri.

Over the last decade the work has in general taken two directions. One important emphasis has been in field work, visiting communities, interviewing residents, and collecting life histories and folklore. The second focus has been mainly historical, in which we have attempted to see the Euro-American immigrant within the context of American society in general and the Mid-Southern, Mid-Western milieu in particular in order to try to understand what the immigrant experience has meant.

Had we not undertaken field work and historical study simultaneously we might have concluded, as has been concluded until very recently by many historians, folklorists, and linguists, that the assimilative expectations of the Anglo-American mainstream had achieved the acculturation and Americanization of immigrants which almost everyone had considered desirable and necessary. It is within the context of the enormous societal pressures brought to bear on European immigrants, particularly Germans, that the persistance of ethnic identity and traditions becomes the more remarkable. It has been an extremely enlightening experience for us to visit with descendant German and other European immigrants to the State and find living evidences of customs and practices which can be traced back to their origins in the Old World.

Actually, of course, like many immigrants themselves, some of the customs brought to America in the 19th century have become so much a part of our national life that we can not imagine they were not always here. However, German influences can be identified in such diverse aspects of modern life as Christmas trees and comic strips, from *O, Tannenbaum* to *The Katzenjammer Kids*.

The Christmas tree had its origin in medieval German mystery plays; after the suppression of the plays in some parts of the country, trees were brought into the home and the custom of decorating them with cookies, fruit and candles developed. Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha introduced the Christmas tree to England in 1841, the year after his marriage to Queen Victoria, and there is a persistent belief that an Ohio immigrant started the custom in America in 1847, when he took a spruce into his home to decorate it as Christmas trees had been decorated in his native Hessia. However, a much earlier tree has been documented in the Mississippi Valley. Gustav Koerner mentions his Christmas tree in Belleville, Illinois in 1833, and there must have been trees in Missouri about the time German immigrants began to come into the State in the early 1830's. However, it was not until 1851 that the first Christmas tree appeared for sale in New York City.

Of course, many traditional Christmas foods, and such songs as "Silent Night" were brought to us by German-speaking immigrants, but their most important contribution was the concept of Christmas as a family and church centered celebration. The Puritans had frowned upon Christmas festivities. Christmas Day was supposed to be a workday like any other, and for a while there was a law in Massachusetts forbidding the observance of the day. Early travelers to the South reported that Christmas was celebrated by "mischief and drunken uproariousness." Signs were removed, plows placed on housetops and effigies put up in the streets, much in the manner of pranks now associated with Halloween.

In his A Journey Through Texas Frederick Olmstead reported that so-called Christmas "serenades" were given, with the band blowing into tin horns and beating on tin pans. Visits were made from house to house, the doors were kicked as a special form of greeting, and those within were summoned to join a march to the public square. Lest we think things were different in frontier Missouri, we have a description of the way Christmas was celebrated in Missouri before the Civil War, written by Gert Goebel who emigrated with the Giessen Society in 1834:

> There was no church celebration of any sort. No presents were given and the fine German custom of decorating a Christmas tree was unknown. There was only shooting. On Christmas Eve a number of young fellows from the neighborhood would get together and after each had gotten his hunting rifle or old muskets and cavalry pistols from the Revolutionary War and they had been loaded almost to the point of bursting they went from house to house. They approached the house as quietly as possible and then fired a mighty salvo, frightening women and children, and if no one appeared . . . then a second round was fired. But usually the master of the house would open the door immediately and fire his own rifle and invite the whole company to come into the house. There the whiskey jug would make its rounds and baked goods were passed around. After a while the entire gang set out for the next farm where the same uproar began again. In this manner such shenanigans were carried on until the morning and since. . . a number of groups were roving around all through the night the thunder and racket could be heard from everywhere.[1]

Another Christmas entertainment was filling hollow logs with gunpowder. The fuse would be set off, spectators would scramble for safety, and an earth-shaking explosion would reward the celebrators.

Offering a considerable contrast is the quiet family Christmas described in an interview collected by one of our students:

> On Christmas Eve the whole family would go to Church in the wagon. After returning home the children would go to bed and the parents would set up the tree. On Christmas morning the children would come downstairs and there would be the Christmas tree, usually a cedar, decorated with real candles, cookies, candy canes and strings of popcorn and cranberries. The table would be set and at each child's place would be his presents and perhaps some fruit and candy . . . . Of course, the tree, gifts and candy had been brought by the "Christkind," the Christ Child, while the children slept.[2]

With few differences this could be the holiday observed by many American families a generation ago, but there is one custom related to the Christmas season which I have been able to find only in immigrant communities. This is St. Nicholas Day. On this day, December 6, in recent memory in many German communities children arose to find either sweets or coal, or sometimes a switch, in their stockings.

The cult of St. Nicholas was strongly opposed by Martin Luther, who preached against the legend in Germany, but some of the Stephan-led Old Lutherans must have brought the custom to Perry County in 1838, for some of their descendants give sweets to children in early December although the reason for the custom has been forgotten. In many Missouri Catholic communities, however, St. Nicholas himself appeared, accompanied by the devil, or "Black Peter" as he was sometimes called.[3]

Several people interviewed did not remember the St. Nicholas Eve visitation with much pleasure. Apparently some of those planning the event were carried away by their own inventiveness, perhaps having forgotten how frightened they had been when they had to face St. Nicholas. At Aholt, in Howard County, three figures appeared, St. Nicholas, dressed as a Bishop, an angel, and Black Peter, or the devil, in chains. Children had to say a prayer. The reward was a piece of candy, and those not rewarded for one reason or another were threatened that they would be put in chains. At St. Thomas, a bearded St. Nicholas was dressed in old clothes and carried a sack. He came with his helper, Black Peter. Here, too, boys who would not, or could not, remember the prayers they had been taught were threatened that they would be put in chains and taken away with the visitors.

A student from St. Elizabeth, south of Jefferson City, got a detailed description of the event from an aunt who remembered the custom vividly:

> St. Nicholas would appear . . . dressed in an impressive regalia. We would be required to kneel and say the Lord's prayer. During this time old man "Devil" himself would be circling the house, rattling his chains and banging a pitch fork against the house. Strangely enough, all the horrendous noises would cease once our prayer was completed.[4]

Aunt Martha finally figured out it was her brothers who were playing the devil, but not until long after one particularly frightening visitation. " They had this chain . . . and they would knock on the door and pitch the chain in, you know, that great big chain, and well, we were supposed to pray . . . . And I jumped on the rocking chair and I was starting to pray and the rocking chair fell over with me and I caused all the commotion . . . . We had a fence around the yard and above this fence there were the hogs . . . and they made such a commotion that all the boys started running and caused the biggest cloud of dust that I've ever seen . . . . I got so scared that I didn't know what I was doing. But I know it was my brothers. At the time I didn't know it, it scared the daylights out of me."[5]

Some youngsters tried to outwit the devil and once an older boy concealed a piano wire on the ground outside the house and watched the devil fall to his doom. Most contributors generally agreed with the person who said "I never did like that custom."[6]

If the pioneer Anglo-Americans celebrated Christmas with gunfire, the Germans observed the traditional practice of shooting in the New Year, a ritual widely practiced in one form or another throughout Europe. We have collected accounts of shooting in the New Year from two counties. In Perry

County it was reported that the young men would go around from house to house on New Year's morning, shoot off their guns, and recite a brief New Year's wish:

Gutten Morgen, guten Morgen
in diesem Haus
Wir wünschen euch, euch wünschen wir ein
glückseliges neues Jahr.

Good morning, good morning in this house
We wish you, you we wish a happy
New year![7]

In Howard County in the central part of the State a contributor remembers that a group of about twenty men would make the rounds on New Year's Eve. At a signal from the Captain they would shoot. If there was no response, they would "start hollering for cheer." "There was hardly a place that did not open up. . . . Once in a while they'd find one they could not raise. That didn't sit so well . . . . Then they'd bombard then they'd make another load and load again and shoot a couple of times and then go on. . . ."[8] Usually the well-wishers, as the contributor called them, were invited in to have something--cookies, cake, coffee, sausage, homemade sausage. The contributor reported that her father would never give them any drinks because he thought they had had too much already.

Shooting in the New Year is also practiced among the Germans from Russia, the Volga and Black Sea Germans, of South Dakota, and a student from that state reports that on New Year's morning, just as the adults are settling down to sleep, the children are sent from door to door to wish neighbors and relatives a happy New Year. A few verses are recited to convey the traditional good wishes, and the children are given a dime or a quarter to urge them on their way to the next house. In some cases, however, parents teach the child a wish that is sure to waken the recipient for the rest of the day.

Ich wünsche euch ein glückliches neues Jahr
Viel Gesundheit, langes Leben
und ein Bub mit rotem Haar.[9]

"Good health, a long life and a boy with red hair." Among the Germans from Russia, who maintained their language and customs from the early 19th century for almost a hundred years in settlements in Russia and for many years on the Great Plains, red hair was associated with the devil, and while parents of the child may have thought the wish a good joke, the recipients often did not.

One practice that had a very long life in Missouri was the pre-Lenten *Wurstjäger* in Rhineland, who went from house to house on *Fasnacht*,

serenading in the local dialect, collecting suasage for their traditional feast. Mrs. Fritz Theissen sang the song for me:

Butte, butte re, butte butte rei
Gib's mir Wurscht dann geh ich vorbei;
Ich hab den ganzen Tag gelopen,
Hab kein Geld, kann Brot nicht kofen.
Butte, butte re, butte butte rei
Gib's mir Wurscht, dann geh ich vorbei

Lass die kleinen, kurzen hangen,
Gib mir all die grossen langen.
Butte, butte re, butte, butte rei
Gib's mir Wurscht, dann geh ich vorbei.[10]

The admonition to let the small, short sausages hang where they are and hand over the big long ones appears in several *Heischelieder,* or begging songs, collected in the Rhineland area of Germany, evidence that songs originating in Germany were handed down from generation to generation in the Missouri Rhineland.

Carl Wittke has pointed out that American holidays, such as the Fourth of July,were always enthusiastically celebrated by German immigrants, although often in their own traditions of festivals, to the bafflement and annoyance of their Anglo-American neighbors.[11] Gert Goebel reports that on July 4, 1840 a *Vogelschiessen* was held at Washington, Missouri, causing great amazement among the American settlers who had never seen such a spectacle.

The traditional target for such a match was a wooden bird, intended to represent the imperial eagle. The parts were carved separately and attached to the body. The wings were outstretched, a gilded crown adorned the head, scepter and imperial orb were held in the claws, and the whole stately bird was attached to a pole. Different prizes were awarded for shooting off the various parts of the eagle, and the marksman who shot down the last part of the body was declared the *Schützenkönig,* for the year. Everything went according to exacting German protocol for a while, but the last part of the bird stubbornly refused to come down and the frontier spirit took over. Participants rushed to foot of the pole, and all shot at once, but still without success. The man who had carved the bird whispered to Goebel that a well-placed shot at a flaw in the wood might bring an end to the contest, and much to his embarrassment he found himself the *Schützenkönig,* with the responsibility of selecting a queen for the ball which always followed the shooting match.[12]

The German *Schützenfest* had its origin in the Middle Ages when the burghers of the free cities began to hold annual competitions in shooting.

Considerably modified, it lasted well into the 20th century in Warren County where a *Schützenhalle*, located in a lovely wooded glen near Charrette Creek, had the largest dance floor in Warren County for the ball which was the culmination of the fest. In Missouri the *Schützenfest* became a family event, an opportunity for a day of socializing and an evening o dancing, but the custom of the *Schützenkönig* remained, and the embroidere badges of the king and queen reflect a centuries-old tradition.

Many of the occasions for socializing on the frontier were centere on the ceremonies and passages of life. Weddings provided the opportunity for friends and relatives to get together, and into the 20th century the custom of the *Gastbitter*, who invited guests to an approaching wedding, wa practiced in several communities. With a gaily decorated horse, carrying a staff to which everyone invited would attach a ribbon to signify his acceptance of the invitation, the *Gastbitter* rode from house to house and farm to farm. At each stop he recited a lengthy German verse, usually composed by himself, describing in great detail the food and drink that was to be offered to the wedding guests. The customary form of the invitation included an exaggerated account of the distance the inviter had traveled, the sights he had seen, and it was the custom to offer him a glass of wine or other refreshment while the ribbon was being attached to his staff.[13]

Not only in holiday and religious customs or in family or community traditions preserved among themselves but in their agricultural practices and townscapes can the influence of the German immigrants and their commitment to an older culture be seen in Missouri today. The massive German immigration to the State can be largely attributed to the dream of one man, Gottfried Duden, a lawyer from the Ruhr. Moved by the suffering of his countrymen, the poverty and overpopulation he saw about him, he decided to find a site for a new Germania in America, and in 1824 he arrived in St. Louis to search for a suitable environment for German immigrants. He found what he believed to be an ideal location in what is now Warren County, and during the next three years he wrote a Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America and a Stay of Several Years Along the Missouri.[14]

Upon his return to Germany, Duden published the Report at his own expense, and his poetic descriptions of the land he had found west of the Mississippi fired the imaginations of thousands of his countrymen suffering from the failed revolutions and the intensified repressions of the 1830s. Individually or in societies formed to establish German colonies on the western frontier, the politically oppressed, the poor, and the disaffected set out for Missouri.

Many of the immigrants came not to become Americans but to establish a new Germany, most often only to carry on the cultural traditions of their homeland, but in some cases with the expectation of building colonies which could be used as stepping stones to revolution in old Germany, perhaps the most futile of the American dreams to founder in the New World. The Giessen Emigration Society, led by Friedrich Münch and Paul Follenius, the best planned and most thoroughly organized of the societies, broke up in St. Louis before its members ever reached Warren County. Such failures, however, did not discourage some emigrants.

Generally recognized as the most successful in its effort to establish a German colony in Missouri was the *Deutsche Ansiedlungs-Gesellschaft zu Philadelphia*, founded in Pennsylvania for the purpose of establishing a settlement in some part of the United States, preferably the Far West, in which German culture, the German language, and German values could be perpetuated. The organizers, primarily recent immigrants who did not want their children to be influenced by the proximity of the English in Philadelphia, felt that they could succeed where groups originating in Germany had failed because of their knowledge of American conditions and laws.

In the spring of 1837 deputies were dispatched by the Society to seek a suitable site for a new settlement in the states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri or Wisconsin and arrange for the purchase of not less that 25,000 acres. The land they chose lay some eighty miles west of St. Louis, along the Gasconade River, approximately five miles from its confluence with the Missouri.

The deputies' report, describing the physiographical variety of the area, the terrain suitable for agriculture, viniculture and animal husbandry, the availability of limestone for building, the numerous springs, and the abundant wildlife, was received enthusiastically in Philadelphia. An agent was sent to purchase the land, and a vigorous promotion for the Colony was mounted in Germany and America, with advertisements placed in thirteen German newspapers in cities extending from Hamburg to Switzerland and from Elberfeld to Breslau with recruiting activities in Baltimore, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, New Orleans and other American cities.

Unfortunately the agent employed by the Society was not able to purchase the land selected by the deputies but bought over eleven thousand acres in scattered parcels farther east. Not anticipating the difficulties colonists were to face, persons in Philadelphia proceeded with plans for the Settlement. It was decided to name the city to be established "Hermann" in honor of the old Germanic hero, leader of the Cherusci, who organized

native forces against the Romans and in 9 A.D. anihilated three legions under the Roman general, Varus, at the Battle of the Teutoburg forest.

Next, seeing their new city as a rival to St. Louis, the Society organizers laid out the town plan, stipulating that Market Street be ten feet wider than Market Street in Philadelphia. The streets were named for German poets, composers, and historical figures, with tributes to American statesmen in Washington and Franklin streets. Parks, public squares and promenades were designated, and it was decreed that there be no vinegar, soap or turpentine factories within the city limits to detract from the environment.[15]

Remarkably, much of the plan drawn on paper in Philadelphia was imposed on a considerably more rugged terrain in Missouri than had been envisioned. The first seventeen colonists arrived at the site of the planned settlement on December 6, 1837 to face a hard winter which they survived only with the help of American pioneers. However, by the Spring of 1839 a visitor reported that the streets, though strewn with felled trees, had been laid out and ninety houses had been built. During the next decades members of the Philadelphia Settlement Society came very close to implanting a Germanic cultural enclave on the Missouri River.

In Perry County, where the Old Order Lutherans arrived in 1838, the farms, town plans, and names reflect the Saxon heritage. As cultural geographer Russel Gerlach has pointed out, the village of Altenburg in Perry County is a typical example of the string-shaped farm villages, or *Strassendorf*, common in Germany.[16] It developed by elongation, with long narrow strips of land added periodically until it is now two miles long and two blocks wide. By the 1840's, as immigration accelerated, Emil Malinckrodt wrote that the clatter of wooden shoes and the low German dialect could be heard every day in St. Louis.[17]

Westphalia in central Missouri had been settled in the mid-1830's and within a few years groups from Bavaria, the Rhineland, and other parts of Germany founded villages in the vicinity, where a regional culture and regional dialect was preserved. Immigrants from northern Germany settled the prairies of Lafayette County, and a German surveyor designed a plan for St. Joseph, chosen over the plans of competitors by Joseph Robidoux, the French founder of the city, because its frugally narrow European streets left more land available to sell to settlers.

Because of their numbers, the German population in Missouri was able to perpetuate their language and culture through community life, schools and newspapers. To the bafflement of American educators, German-Americans persisted obdurately in their commitment to language instruction for their children, seeming to consider it a vital part of their heritage. Only in Hermann was a German school established by State charter, but both Catholics and Lutherans built educational institutions independent of public schools. Toward the end of the century a Lutheran educator noted that even among members of the irreligious free-thinkers, there were many who sent their children to the parochial schools for the sake of the language.[18]

Newspapers and other publications served an important function in maintaining language as well as in transmitting traditional practices and beliefs. Most contained folk medical cures, planting and weather lore, jokes, proverbs and other sayings, recipes, tall tales, word games, reminiscences of early settlers and news from Germany and other German-American communities. Just prior to the outbreak of the first World War there were three daily German newspapers in Missouri, twenty-five publications and twelve monthlies.[19]

The strong German presence in Missouri was not always accepted with equanimity by the Anglo-American majority. The term "melting pot" apparently originated in the 20th century with Israel Zangwill's play of that name, but the concept of the melting pot has been a pervasive influence on American thought since Revolutionary times. The Germans were perhaps the most unmeltable of what Michael Novak has called the unmeltable ethnics,[20] and because there were so many of them, they clearly had the potential to exert tremendous influence.

Although Germans in Missouri were never politically unified except for such unity as they achieved during the Civil War, they seldom hesitated to express their opinions on political issues. As early as 1840 St. Louis had a nativist paper, the St. Louis Era, which published editorials against the Germans and Irish, and as the War approached anti-German sentiment intensified, reaching its peak during the 1860's.

The epithet "dirty Hessian,"[21] a commonplace of broadsides of the Revolutionary period, was taken up by the broadside poets of the Civil War and often used in anti-German Confederate songs. Broadsides, printed on sheets of paper to hawk on the streets of such cities as Baltimore, St. Louis, and New Orleans, both reflected opinion and molded opinion, and songs about the Dutch and their General Sigel lingered in the oral tradition in Missouri and Arkansas until the 1950's.[22] Whether or not the Germans were responsi-

ble for holding Missouri to the Union, both they and the pro-Southerners believed they were, and their stand for abolition did not contribute to their popularity in many areas of the State.

The attitudinal climate of the late 19th century is reflected in the numerous comic songs focusing on the life styles of new immigrants. I am told that children in the Rolla area still sing the grotesque song dedicated to Old Donderbeck, the butcher, who found himself in the sausage machine just as his wife turned it on.[23] There were numerous references to sauerkraut and even one or two to *Hasenpfeffer*, and the German and *lagerbier* were inseparable in the popular and folk mind. Such stereotyping reflected societal pressures on immigrants to put away their old language and customs. The German and Irish joined forces to resist. The National German American Alliance, formed in 1901 and incorporated by Act of Congress in 1907, worked with the Ancient Order of Hiberians for a common cause: the preservation of ethnic identity. Such movements were dealt a devastating blow by the approach of World War I, when a kind of madness seemed to descend on the land. The historian Carl Wittke described the atmosphere during those times:

> The war precipitated a violent, hysterical, concerted movement to eradicate everything German from American civilization. It was led by a minority of extremists, but a large part of the American population participated in the patriotic "drive against Teutonism." Mob rule broke out in many parts of the United States, and the German-American element trembled with fear before the excesses of an enraged public. German music, German literature, German church services, German singing societies, the use of the German language, practically everything that could be . . . traced to a German origin came under the ban.[24]

In Missouri the Council of Defense announced that it was opposed "to the use of the German language in the schools, churches, lodges, and in public meetings of every character."[25] In two counties, Linn and Cass, the use of German on the telephone was prohibited. The editors of German newspapers were called together, and not surprisingly many of them decided to cease publication or publish in English. It has been found that there was considerably more violence in the State than historians have believed. Book burnings, church burnings, the painting of buildings with yellow stripes, threats and rumors of lynchings and other destructive and violent acts took place.

The German language was not abolished overnight, but its loss was accelerated by the political catastrophes of the 20th century. There was no doubt considerable accomodation to the majority culture and increased

assimilation into the mainstream, and there are still German-Americans who don't want to talk about the past. In general, however, the celebration of the Bicentennial seemed to bring about an awakening of ethnic consciousness and an uneasy acceptance of the values of a pluralistic society. Our research has shown that there is much of value to be preserved in the traditions of the past, and that even when language has been eradicated and surface acculturation achieved, folk practices and traditions are maintained. The tenacity of the folk memory among this immigrant group indicated how central to the creative life of the individual and the group cultural identity remains.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Gert Goebel, *Länger als ein Menschenleben* (St. Louis: C. Witter 1877), p. 81.

[2] Martha E. Schach, "A Short History of the Weinrich Emigrants and Traditions and Customs Preserved in the United States," typewritten Honors Paper, April, 1978, p. 5, UMC Oral History Collection.

[3] The St. Nicholas known in medieval legend, whose day is still kept in Europe, evolved from stories surrounding two bishops, both from Lycia in Asia Minor. Nicholas of Myra is believed to have lived in the 4th century. Nicholas of Pinora died in 564. Over the years the lives of the two Nicholases were merged into one symbolic figure to who the Greek Orthodox Church turned for protection against dangers. Early in the 11th century Myra fell into the hands of the Mohammedans and merchants carried what were thought to be the bones of St. Nicholas to Bari in Southern Italy, where a church was built over his grave which became a center of St. Nicholas worship in the Roman Catholic Church. Bari was a seaport and St. Nicholas became the patron saint of sailors who carried the cult to western and northern Europe. Eventually all harbor cities along western and northern European coasts and rivers built churches dedicated to St. Nicholas. In the 12th and 13th centuries Holland had no less than twenty-three such churches, and as the fame of St. Nicholas spread he was adopted by children as their protector. As early as the 14th century choir boys of the St. Nicholas churches would be given money and a holiday on December 6, supposedly the birthday of the good bishop, and various activities and traditions grew up around St. Nicholas Day particularly in the convent schools. About this time Black Peter began to accompany St. Nicholas on his visits. In the Middle Ages the "Black Man" or "Black Peter" was the name the Dutch gave to the devil, and it was popularly believed that on his birthday St. Nicholas would chain the devil and take him along as his servant to drop candy for good children and carry the naughty ones away in his sack. See "The Origin of St. Nicholas" in Henriette van Nierop, Santa Claus The Dutch Way. (New York: The Netherlands Information Service).

[4] Kelly Luetkemeyer, "The Survival of Germanic Life and Customs in Missouri: An Immigrant's Experience," typewritten Honors Paper, April 17, 1978, pp. 7 f., UMC Oral History Collection.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Interview with Mrs. Casper Buersmeyer, Jefferson City, Mo., May 24, 1974.

[7] Interview with Dr. Theodore Fischer, Altenburg, Mo., March 16, 1973.

[8] Interview with Mrs. Buersmeyer.

[9] Shirley Fischer Arends, "A Prairie Harvest: Customs and Folklore of the Dakota Russian Germans," Typescript, 1980, in author's collection.

[10] Interview with Mrs. Fritz Theissen, Rhineland, Mo., July 12, 1974.

[11] Carl Wittke, We Who Built America; The Saga of the Immigrant (Cleveland: Western Reserve University, 1939) pp. 214-15. Wittke reports on a German July 4 celebration in Columbus, Ohio which awakened the city with cannon fire, continued with processions, patriotic songs and speeches, and ended with separate celebrations by various German societies. The next day the local German newspaper took the Anglo-American residents of Columbus to task because they did not celebrate the nation's birthday with the proper spirit.

[12] Gert Goebel, p. 83.

[13] Interview with Mrs. Buersmeyer.

[14] Gottfried Duden, *Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nord-Amerikas und einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt am Missouri (in dem Jahren 1824, 25, 26 und 1827) in Bezug auf Auswanderung und Uebervölkerung* (Elberfeld: Sam Lucas, 1829). Duden's Report has recently been published in translation by the University of Missouri Press.

[15] William G. Bek, The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and its Colony, Hermann, Missouri (Philadelphia: Americana Germanica Press, 1907) is the best source for information on Hermann.

[16] Russel L. Gerlach, Immigrants in the Ozarks: A Study in Ethnic Geography (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1976), p. 67.

[17] Letters of Emil Mallinckrodt to his brother Eduard. Emil Mallinckrodt Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

[18] Carol Miller, "Growth of German-American Awareness Through 1800's." Typescript, November 19, 1974, UMC Oral History Collection, p. 16.

[19] Karl J.R. Arndt and May E. Olson, German American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955 (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1961) pp. 237-280.

[20] Michael Novak, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics (New York, MacMillan, 1972).

[21] A typical example was collected by Vance Randolph in Missouri in 1928: "There were Tories there an' dirty Dutch/And Hessians and Yankees Bloody." See Vance Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, 4 Vols. (Columbia, Mo.: State Historical Society of Missouri, 1946-50), vol. II, p. 255.

[22] Max Hunter Collection, Springfield-Greene County Library, Springfield, Mo., No. 133, Cassette No. 8 has a version of "Joe Steiner" collected in Arkansas in 1958.

[23] A version of this song appears in Randolph, Vol. III, p. 253.

[24] Carl Wittke, German-Americans and the World War (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1936), p. 163.

[25] Final Report of the Missouri Council of Defense to His Excellency, Honorable Frederick B. Gardner, Governor of Missouri (St. Louis: C.P. Curran, 1919), p. 61.

THE ROLE OF PHILOSOPHY IN AFRICAN POLITICS

By

ENGELBERT SSEKASOZI

A careful examination of the literature on African politics shows that there is little, if any, treatment and understanding of African politics as ontologically grounded in African Metaphysics, African Epistemology and African Ethical Theory. Generally, vague interest in African politics arises whenever a coup d' etat takes place somewhere in Africa, or whenever a person such as former President Idi Amin of Uganda makes a pronouncement about expelling the Asians. The African political forces involved as the sine qua nons of these and other events in Africa are not carefully presented and/or understood since a philosophical explication of them is rarely, if at all, given. The natural consequence of this is the limited knowledge concerning African politics such that the necessary sympathetic understanding and appreciation of African politics is not as advanced as it should be.

The purpose of this paper is to address the philosophical foundations of African politics by bridging the gap of understanding between the general and, therefore, rather limited understanding of African politics on the one hand, and on the other hand, the ontological and, therefore, advanced analysis of African politics. I hope this paper will result in a profound understanding of the latter.

In a major sense, this paper is a pioneering work since practically no research on African politics in this direction has so far been undertaken.

General Analysis and Explication. In general, there are at least six basic grounds upon which a person bases his reasons for casting a vote for a particular candidate.

(1) A person may vote for a candidate simply because he likes that candidate. A candidate's personal charm, photogenic appearance on televi-

sion, resonant voice on radio, and sense of humor comprise that personal touch and popularity which can make the difference between success and failure at the polls.

(2) A person may support a candidate on the basis of political tradition. Belonging to a specific political party for generations can be used as sufficient and legitimate claim by a candidate to a voter's political allegiance. For the historical fact of belonging to a particular political party does two things: (a) it nurtures in some voters a political sense of responsibility to vote according to tradition, (b) it raises expectations in the candidate that voters of his party will support him as a matter of political allegiance.

(3) A person may support a candidate because he considers the candidate a natural ally, one like himself, a native son, etc. Viewed in this light, the candidate's region (area) where he comes from, his religious inclinations and/or upbringing, and his identification with the voters as culturally one of them, all have a common-folks appeal effect with significantly positive results for the candidate.

(4) A person may vote for a candidate because of money. Some voters can actually be paid cash as an inducement to vote for a particular person. Knowing this, politicians may make financial outlays. This may put a rich candidate at a great advantage.

(5) A person may vote for a candidate because he is forced to do so, knowing his "choice" makes very little difference. This is true in countries with dictators, where a voter has only apparent right to have a candidate of his "choice." There, one-party states have Government candidates selected for the voters by the one legal political party in power. In effect, the election is held before the voters go to the polls, for all the candidates presented by the party believe exactly the same thing. In a form of political sham, one, two or (sometimes) three candidates are offered to the voter to "choose from." In their intentions to enjoy a perpetuity of power, the party leaders (the dictators) actually force the voter to select a candidate.

(6) Finally, a person may support a candidate because he accepts the promises made by the candidate and his political party. The party's platform, spelling out what that party intends to do once in power, ushers into existence a spirit of colleagiality between the voter and the candidate representing the party. The two have something in common to agree on since the voter has had an opportunity to compare different party platforms,

and he has come to the conclusion that the candidate whom he supports in fact represents the kind of political philosophy that the voter is in accord with.

African Politics Philosophically Considered. All of the above grounds for voting for a candidate exist in African countries. In countries where free elections are held (Nigeria, Senegal, Ivory Coast, for example), grounds No. (1), (2), (3), (4), and (6) generally exist. In African states with dictators (Zaire, Central African Empire before the fall of Bokassa, Uganda during Idi Amin regime, Mali, etc.), and in one-party states (Tanzania, Malawi, Ghana during Kwame Nkrumah's CCP Party rule, and Guinea under Sekou Toure), ground No. 5 generally prevails.[1]

But, unlike the eastern countries (USSR, for example) and the Western Countries (USA), politics in the African states is influenced by the following additional unique philosophic foundations:

POLITICS AND METAPHYSICS IN AFRICA

The African Concept of Time and Politics. Africans divide time into (i) Actual Time (past and present) and (ii) Potential Time (phenomenon calendars, events which are about to occur, or cycles of community rhythm of nature such as recurrent seasons of the year).[2] On the basis of this distinction, the African concept of time is two-dimensional: past and present, with virtually no future extending in years to come.[3] This aspect of the African concept of time is of great importance and has the following implications for African politics. Many politicians brought up in the American, British or French political traditions become candidates for office. They make all types of promises to the African voters ("When we come to power, we will do this and that; we will serve you people in such and such manner, etc."). These candidates may have charm, they may be of proper political traditions and credentials, they may come from the correct regions of the country, they may have plenty of money, and their party platforms may indeed appeal to the voters. However, many such candidates ultimately fail politically because of their inability to appreciate this crucial fact: the ordinary African expects the promises made to him to be fulfilled quam primum, in the very near future. The African's political patience has a short duration indeed!

This observation applies to Africans who are civilians and to those who are professionally in the military. From a psychological point, the civilian masses react to long durations of waiting for promises to be kept by showing signs of restlessness. In countries where freedom of personal expression exists (Nigeria, Kenya), the restlessness is overtly shown by

public expressions of discontent. In the case of the military, promises (whether given by civilian or military governments) have to be kept. Otherwise, if a long time is allowed to elapse, the normal result is a sudden overthrow of the Government in a coup d'etat. In the case of either (civilian or military), the African trait of frankness becomes clear. It is wiser, therefore, for a political candidate to make only those promises which he can help carry out soon. This will have to be done until such time as the African concept of time naturally changes to reflect three dimensions: past, present and future. The future, as the third dimension of time, in order to have roots as a possible political tradition, will have to take quite some time. I am arguing, for example, that economic programs which political candidates normally expect to carry out in five or seven years (following the Colonial tradition left in Africa by the British or French methods of governments to remain in power) simply take too long for the ordinary African to wait for the results to appear. Gradually extending the durations of time should become the framework in which political promises should be made in African politics. And political instability in many African States needs to be sympathetically understood in this light.

POLITICS AND EPISTEMOLOGY IN AFRICA

The Theories of Truth. The following is what I consider to be an adequate application of the Correspondence Theory of Truth and the Coherence Theory of Truth to African politics.

The Correspondence Theory of Truth: Generally, this is the theory that for a proposition to be true, what is said must correspond to fact. In the African political context, a candidate's promise will be judged to be true or false if he can show a necessary correspondence between what he says and what he does. Essentially, Africans greatly and profoundly admire and respect epistemic authority, i.e., the individual who knows what he is talking about.[4] However, the proof that what a candidate says is true, is established by showing that that candidate knows what he is talking about; and this is proved through that candidate's actions. If he does what he promises, then what he is saying is true, for he thereby establishes that he knows what he is talking about.

A number of political leaders educated abroad introduce political ideologies into their countries. They write documents and they make statements propounding economic, political and social theories. The ordinary African voters clap their hands. But the emotional impact of the documents on those voters is ephemeral: the voters will examine carefully to

see exactly what the candidate does, and the truth of his statements will be determined by what he does. Two examples will illustrate this point:

When President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania introduced the novel ideological concept of Ujamaa (basically, "Let us work together"), the Tanzanian voters expected much more than the profoundly epistemological significance of President Nyerere's statements. They expected to be shown that there is a necessary correspondence between what he was saying and what he did. He proved himself to be an epistemic authority on Ujamaa as follows: he resigned as President of Tanzania. He went among the people in the villages and actually showed them what he meant by Ujamaa. Later, the people of Tanzania brought Dr. Nyerere back to power by acclamation. This is one of the reasons why President Nyerere is among the very few African heads of state who have been eminently and clearly successful.

We have a different situation in the case of General Jean-Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Empire. He declared himself "Emperor" of the Central African Empire. This declaration had little, if any, truth value for the ordinary African because "Emperor" Bokassa failed to prove by his actions that there was a necessary correspondence between his declaration of being an "Emperor" and his actions as such. As a result, "Emperor" Bokassa of the Central African Empire is no longer living in his own country!

In almost all the cases where African politicians and leaders have been unsuccessful, their lack of success has been due to their inability to establish the necessary correspondence between their words and their actions--a correspondence which is crucial in African politics.

The Coherence Theory of Truth: Basically, this is the theory according to which a statement is true if it is consistent with the other statements which are accepted as true. Applied to the African political systems, this theory means that a candidate making certain statements has to observe carefully the first dimension of time (the past) and the places where he is making the political speeches. The ordinary African voter has quite a good memory. Consequently, one of the problems facing an African politician and an African leader is the care which they must exercise in their choice of words, and the consistency of their statements when speaking politically. A politician or a leader who says one thing today, and contradicts himself tomorrow is indicating to the voters that he is a liar. There is no euphemism to describe this situation. For the fact of the matter is that Africans generally abhor being lied to, and this applies in politics.

Another type of the failure to be consistent is exemplified by the politician who, for some reason, makes a statement in one place or region of the country, only to say something entirely different or contradictory when speaking in another place or region of the country. Africans listen to the radio, they see candidates on television, and quite a few Africans read vernacular and/or English or French newpapers. If it can be conclusively established that a certain candidate prevaricated, this seriously affects his viability as a candidate, and political fortunes and careers have been hurt because of the failure by politicians to abide by the requirements of consistency.

The requirement of consistency applies to everybody in politics. In many instances, the colonial powers (Britain, France, Germany, etc.) failed to understand the importance of consistency to an African. They made promises and, in some instances, signed agreements which they did not keep.[5] In western countries, political parties write party platforms expressing their ideologies, economic and social policy, etc. During political conventions, these platforms are adopted by the party's delegates as the future policies for the country. The candidates run on the basis of those platforms. When a political party comes to power, that party is expected to live up to the promises made in the platform. Sometimes, however, the voters soon forget what the party stood for two, three (or more years) ago. There are situations where the party actually breaks the promise(s); and there are instances where the party may fail to act in order not to carry out what it promised. After the term of office of the party, its platform becomes a museum piece. Another platform is written, approved by the delegates, and the process continues. In African politics, the Coherent Theory of Truth requires that the promises made must be kept. This is the expectation of the voters.[6]

POLITICS AND ETHICAL THEORY IN AFRICA

THE AFRICAN CONCEPT OF JUSTICE

Economic Justice. There are politicians and political leaders who speak glowing about economic fair play for all the citizens. They talk eloquently about the fair production and distribution of economic goods, national economic sacrifices for the present time in order to have a better and richer life in the future, and so forth and so on. From a moral point of view, as far as the ordinary African voter is concerned, there is nothing wrong with these preachments so long as the leaders practice what they preach. However, the problem generally is that the leaders preach economic fair play and personal sacrifices during the daytime, but they practice something else again at night. Many of these leaders own millions

of pounds (dollars, shillings, etc.) which they abscond in Swiss or foreign banks. These leaders have fleets of automobiles (and sometimes airplanes), and their residences are quite beautiful. The ordinary African can compare his quality of "life" with that of the political leader and he can come only to one conclusion: there is an economic imbalance between the leader and the citizens. A citizen who is aware of the economic arrangements of his own country can see that, morally, the economic distinctions between him and the leader are unfair. Since being a leader of a country implies being a citizen of that country, the ordinary African can maintain that the leader has little, if any, justifiable grounds which he can offer in order to explain the distinction. For example, how can the leader of the country go to one of the towns during the day, tell those assembled that he believes in economic fair play for all, and that, in order to develop the country successfully, they all (including the leader) need national and personal sacrifices "from each of us," and that the economic system which will guarantee a better and richer life in the country in the future is such and such. However, a few days, or months later, they do find out that at night the leader has been scheming to make sure that he is primus inter pares (first among equals) economically. They also discover that he has a secret bank account in a foreign country, that he owns a fleet of cars, etc. The normal reaction among the ordinary African voters will be the same. Assuming that the leader is paid a salary of, say, $30,000 a year (which is quite high for most of the African states), how could that salary become $1,000,000 in, say, three years or even ten years? How could he have saved $1,000,000 in view of the fact that he has a family to support at the same time? And, by the way, why did he deposit this huge sum of money in a Swiss or any other foreign type of bank? What is the problem? What is going on? The leader generally cannot adequately answer these and similar questions. The problem is appreciated by the ordinary voter--and by the military. This matter of corruption has been the cause of quite a few coup d'etats.

Social Justice. Africa has a long tradition of respect for social customs. However, some of the customs are relevant to African politics, and the most important of these customs appertain to Tribalism. In its positive connotation, the term tribe means a group of people who speak the same language, share the same customs, religion, geographical area, etc. Some leaders, in order to maintain themselves in power in those African countries where tribes exist, will divide their countries on the basis of tribes. Those leaders will seek out those tribes that are likely to support them. Midnight agreements and alliances will be reached. The tribe

to which the leader belongs, and those other tribes with which the leader wishes to deal and which agree with his policies, constitute the privileged group in the country. The other tribes suffer as follows: the prominent citizens (the politicians, the intelligentia, the rich, etc.) are either put in jails or they are murdered; the ordinary citizens are systematically denied their rights in such a way that they are not really true citizens of their own countries. To an African, this is most unjust, and here is why. Being born in a tribe is a sacred and inherent right due to the nature of that unique birth, and the desire to protect and cherish one's tribe is a necessary and philosophically important consequence of that uniqueness. Therefore, genocide and other actions directed against a tribe or tribes cannot be accepted as the usual type of political anarchy. The victimized tribes take the necessary steps to protect their rights. Expressed in other words, Tribalism is morally a major problem in African politics. I need also to point out that, due to the colonial powers' habit of playing one tribe against another,[7] this is one of those unfortunate legacies which will take the people of Africa some time to correct.

In conclusion, it is clear that philosophy plays an important role in African politics. There are a number of other philosophical topics vis-a-vis African politics that this paper has not included. Some examples are: God and Religion in African Politics, The Importance of African Mystical Powers In African Politics, The African Army In African Politics, etc. Nevertheless, I hope that what is presented here will result in a better understanding of African politics.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Arthur S. Banks (ed.), Political Handbook of the World: 1979 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1979), pp. 328-331, 379-382, 240-242, 501-503, 101-103, 441-443, 291-293, 423-426, 284-286, 188-190, and 198-200.

[2] John Mbiti, African Religions and Philosophy (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1969), Chapter 3.

[3] Ibid., p. 21.

[4] Ibid., p. 39.

[5] E. Jefferson Murphy, History of African Civilization (New York: Dell Publishing Company, Inc., 1972), pp. 391-394.

[6] D.K. Chisiza, "The Outlook for Contemporary Africa," The Journal of Modern African Studies, 1, I, 1963, pp. 25-38.

[7] Murphy, op. cit., pp. 406-407.

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JOSEPHINE SILONE-YATES: EARLY YEARS OF THE BLACK WOMEN'S CLUB MOVEMENT IN MISSOURI

By

FRANCES J. WILSON

Josephine Silone-Yates was elected to the presidency of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs in Buffalo, New York in 1901. She had already served as vice-president of the association for three years from 1897 to 1899 and as treasurer from 1899 to 1901.[1]

Mrs. Yates' ascendency to the position of president of the first national organization for Black women was not an easy task. She was only the second woman to hold the office, having been preceded by Mary Church Terrell, who held the office for two terms between 1896 and 1901. Her opponents in the 1901 contest were, Margaret Murray Washington, third wife of Booker T. Washington and Josephine B. Bruce, wife of Senator Blanche K. Bruce of Mississippi.

What catapulted Josephine Silone-Yates of Kansas City, Missouri to such a prestigious position? Why was she elected over the other two women? What preparation did she bring to the office? Josephine Silone-Yates was one of a group of unique and creative women representative of the Black women at the turn of the century who sought their place in the professional, business, commercial as well as the domestic world. Their interests were varied, ranging from suffrage, antilynching, mothers' meeting, education, Jim Crow laws, the rural women's position, health, literature, arts, night school, kindergarten, day nurseries, prison work, and temperance reform.[2]

This "new" Black woman emerged largely due to her education. From Oberlin, the first college in the United States to extend a cordial welcome to the Negro and open its doors to women on an equal footing with men, to the early institutions opened especially for Blacks, the Black woman took full advantage of the opportunities available to her.[3]

Exemplary Missouri women during this period were Anna H. Jones, first female principal of Lincoln High School, Kansas City, Missouri; Helen Abbot, teacher and president of the Saint Louis Women's Club; and Josephine Silone-Yates, the first woman to be named a full professor at Lincoln Institute in Jefferson City, Missouri.[4]

Before the call for a convention to form the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Mrs. Yates had traveled to the east to observe newly formed women's clubs. As a result of those visits she began to develop plans for a club for Black women in Kansas City, Missouri. In 1893 Anna H. Jones, Lucinda Day, Libbie Anthony, and Josephine Silone-Yates formed the first women's club in the state for Black women.[5] The Kansas City Club was to share the honor of being one of the first clubs in the country for Black women. The Colored Woman's League of Washington, D.C. was the first known club formed for Black women in June 1892, followed closely by the Woman's Era Club in Boston and the Kansas City Woman Club, both formed in 1893.

Missouri is recognized as one of the first states to organize a Black woman's club and also as the state that provided the rallying issue for the formation of a national organization of Black women.

In 1893 John W. Jacks sent a letter to the members of the England Anti-Lynching Society denouncing Black women.[6] The general tone of Jack's letter represented a popular image of the Black woman in America at the turn of the century. Although Black women were quick to establish that Jack's letter was only an indication of other problems, they spent the next decade in rebuttal of the charges. Out of the impetus of Jack's letter grew one of the most successful meetings of Black women in the nineteenth century and the eventual formation of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs.

> "Indeed, the activities of the National Association of Colored Women and the contents of its literary organ, The Women Era, reveal that a significant number of middle class Black women at the turn of the century were socially responsible and politically aware, a far cry from the perjorative stereotype."[7]

Josephine Silone-Yates was an important person in the history of the Black woman's club work movement in Missouri as well as in the country. It is possible to piece together some tentative conclusions about her early life from some of the biographical accounts of the period. She was born on November 15, 1859, in Southhold, Suffold County, New York, the free-born daughter of Parthenia Reeve and Alexander Silone.[8] Her

family history contained a great deal of race pride. A story was often told of ". . . a slave ship with its cargo of African slaves that was driven ashore on a rocky coast of New England and its human freight scattered to various parts of the country where freedom came to them nearly a century earlier than the slaves of the south."[9]

Her early life was spent on her grandfather's farm on Long Island, where her mother served as a great influence giving her early spiritual and education guidance. Josephine's older sister was more interested in domestic affairs, but Josephine would continue to thirst for books and more advanced study.[10] She attended the local district school until 1870 when her uncle, the Reverand J.B. Reeve of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, invited her to come live with his family. In Philadelphia she attended the famous School for Colored Youth run by Fannie Jackson Coppin, who remembered her "as a brilliant example of what a girl may do."[11]

Her uncle was appointed head of the Theology Department at Howard University the next year, and she was forced to return to New York, but, because she was a bright student, a maternal aunt asked Josephine to come live with her in Newport, Rhode Island. She accepted the invitation and "entered the highest grade of the grammar school . . . the only colored pupil in the school.. . ."[12] In 1874, she entered Rogers High School and completed her course work in three years graduating in 1877 as valedictorian and the only Black member of the class. In 1879 she graduated from Rhode Island State Normal School, again achieving high honors as a minority of one. One report said:

> While attending this institution she entered a teacher's examination in Newport with sixteen . . . candidates, and came out of it with a general average of 94%. This, while not exceptionally high, was, according to an official statement, the highest average that had up to date, been gained in that city in a teacher's examination.[13]

After graduation she entered the teaching profession and in 1883 came to Lincoln Institute in Jefferson City, Missouri, as an instructor of Chemistry, Elocution and English Literature. She left her teaching position at Lincoln Institute to marry William Ward Yates of Kansas City, Missouri in 1889 and spent the next years as wife and mother. In 1895, according to some sources, she conducted a private school for domestics and people who did not have the opportunity to attend public schools. Other sources report how she spent her time:

> In the midst of a round of social, household and material duties she finds time to pursue a regular line of study and of literary work . . . and during a portion of the time since her marriage, taught in Lincoln High

> School of Kansas City . . ., Reading French and German with ease, she had made quite a study of the literature of both these languages, and a few years ago wrote a series of articles upon German Literature which was well received by the press.[14]

It was during this time of great activity that Mrs. Yates became involved in women's club work. Although she was not present at the 1895 Convention in Boston because of the birth of her son, Blyden, she was present in 1896 at the formation of the association.

When Mrs. Yates was elected over the other two more well-known women, there were some political tensions in the organization and the country stemming from the influence of Booker T. Washington, who was at the height of his career at that time. Although most of the women supported Washington's philosophy of industrial education, there were those who did not agree with his policies of accommodation. Mrs. Washington and Mrs. Bruce, both bright and capable women, were nonetheless well-known because of their husband's achievements. The election of Mrs. Yates was a move by the delegates to censor Mrs. Washington and Mrs. Bruce, who ignored a reception held by the association for the candidates at the Phyllis Wheatly Club and chose to attend one by a prominent white women's club group. This was a blantant offense to the association which retaliated by electing J.S. Yates of Kansas City, Missouri.[15] Mrs. Yates was a bright and capable woman and deserved the honor of being the second president of the first national organization for Black women. Mrs. Washington would run again in 1912 and win the presidency, but Mrs. Bruce would never achieve that honor.

During her presidency Mrs. Yates achieved national prominence, and, although she had been a published writer from an early age, her election as president of the National Association of Colored Women opened up more publishing opportunities. Between 1901 and 1906 she published several articles concerning education, women, and the national association in national periodicals.

The National Association of Colored Women's Clubs under her presidency gained membership in the National Council of Women in 1900 and was formally incorporated as a state organization in St. Louis in 1904. Believing that the position of women in a race is always an index to the real progress of a people, Mrs. Yates placed a high priority on training for women in education, the professions, and industrial arts.[16]

She was one of the first women in the association to speak out on the inequities in the judicial systems in this country and on behalf of

Black convicts. When a Black woman was sentenced to be hanged in Kansas City in June, 1893, her league (The Kansas City Woman's League) circulated a petition to the governor who commuted the sentence to fifty years.[17]

Mrs. Yates viewed the Black woman as a barometer of her race: "Our women are learning to deal with the most difficult problem which sociology affords us, and the longer they grapple with these problems the more fully it is forced upon them that the home must be the corner-stone of our social structure, and that here-where education should and does begin, let its tendencies be true or false, elevating or pernicious-woman's influence is the strongest for good or for evil."[18]

She agreed with her friend and colleague Mrs. Anna J. Cooper that Black women in America, educated or not, would have to stand on equal footing with their men. In 1904 in a study done at Atlanta University, Mrs. Cooper noted that over half of the Black families in the area were supported wholly or in part by female heads. She therefore concluded:

> Surely the greatest sufferer from the strain and stress attendant upon the economic conditions noted among our people is the colored woman, and she is the one who must meet and conquer the conditions. . . . So, by her foresight and wisdom, her calm insight and tact, her thrift and frugality, her fertility of resource and largeness of hope and faith, the colored woman can prove that a prudent marriage is the very best investment that a working man can make.[19]

Surely Josephine Silone-Yates as wife, mother, educator and club-worker was an example of the enterprising woman Cooper described. Her own assessment of woman's role in the National Association of Colored Women was one example:

> [Women have] long since passed the experimental stage, and entered upon an aggressive campaign of growth, with "push organization" as its battle cry, meanwhile accomplishing as much in the line of work as reasonably can be expected, when one reflects that few Negro women are women of leisure, or of large means; and that the time and money they give to public work is usually at a sacrifice practically unknown to the women of other races engaged in similar work.[20]

The participation of the Association in the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair earned them national honor. This body of women was the first Negro organization, outside of Fisk University, to receive a World's Fair Day. Yet this honor was daunted by a resolution introduced by Margaret Murray Washington to abandon the plan to hold a session on the fairgrounds be cause the exposition directors had discriminated against colored women in the matter of securing employment. Although the St. Louis delegates dis-

agreed, the resolution was adopted.[21] Nevertheless Josephine B. Bruce complimented Mrs. Yates on her masterly address before the National Council of Women in Washington, D.C., and it was also reported that during the interim Mrs. May Wright Sewal, President of the International Council of Women, requested that Mrs. Yates appoint four women to represent the association at a conference in Berlin, Germany. In her annual address in 1904, she said of the Negro:

> Measuring his success by material wealth in accordance with the tendency of the age, it counts for something that, starting with little or no material wealth in 1863, the census of 1900 credits him with having acquired in farms and homes at least $750,000,000; in personal property, $170,000,000; in church property, $40,000,000, and with having raised for educational purposes, $11,000,000. However, it is the position of the women of the race that forms, perhaps, the surest index of its real advancement, hence the presence, the work, the progress, of the women composing this convention, representing as we do, all sections of this country, is one of the best demonstrations or object lessons of the achievements of the race in forty years of freedom; and future success commensurate with that of the past is ours, if we hew to the line in teaching our sons and our daughters to love virtue and that "A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches."[22]

On election day a delegate rose and gave a definition of what the president of the association should be. It was evident before she had finished that she was renominating Mrs. Yates for the presidency. There was such a tremendous outburst of applause and waving of handkerchiefs that it was evident further speechmaking was out of the question. Mrs. Yates was reelected unaminously.

The 1906 convention in Detroit, Michigan, brought Mrs. Yates' tenure as president of the National Association of Colored Women to an end. According to the constitution, she could not run for another term. She, like Mary Church Terrell, was given the status of honorary president for life. This practice was continued by the association for future presidents. Mrs. Yates was given a standing ovation and a silver loving cup for her service to the association.[23]

Before her term of office as president of the association ended, Mrs. Yates returned to Lincoln Institute, where she found it necessary to set up a household in Jefferson City for herself and her children, finding it easier to commute home on weekends and holidays.[24]

She was a great promoter of Lincoln Institute and wrote a regular column for the The Rising Son entitled "Lincoln Notes." After her election

as president of the National Association of Colored Women, her column was expanded from three lines on page five to a half a column on page one.[25] She also wrote about Lincoln for national periodicals. In one such article she wrote:

> The Lincoln Institute Idea, represents a happy combination of higher and industrial training, since that is the training most practical and most necessary to the conditions of life in the middle west. . . ."[26]

Mrs. Yates became seriously ill in 1907. Although she seemed to recover in a few months in 1908, she asked to be relieved of her duties at Lincoln Institute, but as W. Sherman Savage reports:

> The board met on June 30 and Mrs. Josephine Yates, who had been for several years a successful teacher of English at Lincoln Institute, tendered her resignation to the Board of Regents. The Board, however, did an unusual thing; it refused to accept her resignation and she decided to remain. Her duties were increased and besides being Professor of English, she was to assume the duties of advisor to women. This was before the days when a dean of women was a regular post in the college.[27]

She continued her work at Lincoln until the death of her husband on November 10, 1910, required that she return to Kansas City to take care of the family home. Two years later, on September 3, 1912, Josephine Silone-Yates died after an illness of two days. Her friend, Hallie Quinn Brown, in paying tribute to her said:

> Mrs. Yates was a woman of rare intellectual powers she delighted in study and passed with distinguished success every examination she entered. She had a wonderful capacity for work, and it was no unusual thing for her to write or study all night and teach the next day. She never allowed the duties of the home to encroach upon the time set apart for study or literary work . . .[28]

The limelight of national prominence was short-lived for Josephine Silone-Yates. All that remains of the achievements of her life are bits and pieces, but her memory has been sustained by the work of Black women in club work across the country and most especially in the Missouri Association of Colored Women's Clubs, which she was instrumental in establishing. The end of Mrs. Yates' life's work for the state and national association was only the beginning of the challenges that Black women would face. The women of the Missouri Association and their national affiliate would continue to battle for equality and justice through the remainder of the twentieth century.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Elizabeth L. Davis, Lifting As They Climb (Washington, D.C.: The National Association of Colored Women, 1933), p. 412.

[2]Mary Church Terrell, "First Statement as President of the National Association of Colored Women," The Woman's Era, 3 (Aug. & Sept., 1896), p. 4.

[3]Mary Church Terrell, "The Progress of Colored Women," The Voice of the Negro, Vol. 1 (July, 1904), p. 292.

[4]Gossie H. Hudson, "Josephine Silone-Yates," Jefferson City, Missouri, 1973, p. 6 (Unpublished Paper).

[5]Davis, op. cit., p. 346.

[6]Jno. W. Jacks, "Letter to Miss Florence Balgarnie," 19 March 1895, Mary Church Terrell Papers, Moorland-Springarn Collection: Howard University, Washington, D.C.; Jacks was "a native of Pike County, Missouri, of Kentucky ancestry, and a life long newspaper man. At one time he conducted the Sturgeon Leader and later the Mexico Intelligence and was also in the printing business in St. Louis. Following that he conducted the Franklin County Observer at Washington until March, 1880, when he bought the Montgomery Standard and continued in editorial business management of that paper until his death on December 8, 1921." Floyd C. Shoemaker, Missouri and Missourians (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1943), p. 160.

[7]Emma L. Fields. "The Women's Club Movement in the United States: 1877-1900" (Master's Thesis, Howard University, 1948), p. 60.

[8]National Archives and Record Service, Bureau of the Census, Population Schedule of the 8th Census of the U.S.: 1860, N.Y.: Suffolk County, Southhold Township.

[9]Hallie Quinn Brown, Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction (Xenia, Ohio: Aldrine Publishing Company, 1926), p. 178.

[10]Ibid., p. 178.

[11]Lawson Scruggs, Women of Distinction (Raleigh, N.C.: L.A. Scruggs, 1893), p. 42.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ibid., p. 44.

[14]Ibid., p. 46.

[15]Cleveland (Ohio) Gazette, 20 July 1901, p. 2 in Louis R. Harlan, ed. The Booker T. Washington Papers, Volume 6, 1901-6 (Urbana, 1972), 178-179.

[16]Wilson J. Moses, The Golden Age of Black Nationalism (N.C.: Shoestring, 1978), p. 131.

[17]Ibid., p. 114.

[18]Josephine Silone-Yates, "Afro-American Women As Educators," in Lawson A. Scruggs, Women of Distinction, pp. 318-19.

[19] Anna J. Cooper, "Colored Women As Wage Earners", Southern Workman 1 (August, 1899): 298.

[20] Josephine Silone-Yates, "The National Association of Colored Women," The Voice of the Negro, 1 (July, 1904): 286.

[21] St. Louis (Missouri) Palladium, 16 July 1904, p. 1 in BTW Papers, 8, 20-21.

[22] Davis, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

[23] Brown, op. cit., p. 178.

[24] Kansas City (Missouri) The Rising Son; 19 June 1903, p. 5.

[25] Ibid., 18 January 1906, p. 5.

[26] Josephine Silone-Yates, "Educational Work at Lincoln Institue," Southern Workman 1 (June, 1905):

[27] W. Sherman Savage, A History of Lincoln University (Jefferson City, Mo.: New Day Printers, 1975), p. 112.

[28] Brown, op. cit., p. 180.